

Science

# BULLETIN OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS

ALEXANDRIA UNIVERSITY



Vols: VI & VII

1952 - 1953

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*Communications regarding contributions should be addressed to Dr. Gamal Eldin Elshayyal Editor of the Bulletin.*

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M. KHALAFALLAH

Qur'anic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism

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Trois Philosophies de l'expérience



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Lord Acton's Morality

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Late Egyptian

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O.H.N. KHA. BURMESTER

S. Neophytos and the End of Byzantine Rule in Cyprus

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Qur'anic Studies as an Important Factor in the  
Development of Arabic Literary Criticism (1)

BY

M. KHALAFALLAH

The complete history of Arabic literary criticism has not yet been written. There is no such systematic comprehensive treatment of the subject as, for example, Saintsbury's history of European criticism. (2).

The aspects of Arabic criticism which have been studied by modern scholars are few, chief among them being : the theories of Al-Jāhiz and Abdel-Qāhir, the fourth century critics, and the influence of Greek writings on Arabic critical thought. (3)

1. (A paper presented to the 22nd. International Congress of Orientalists — Istanbul — September 1951).

2. G. Saintsbury, *A HISTORY OF CRITICISM AND LITERARY TASTE IN EUROPE*, 3 vols. 1900-1904.

3. See, for example :

M. Khalafallah, *ABDUL-QAHIR'S THEORY* in his *SECRETS OF ELOQUENCE* — (A Psychological Approach) — Proceeding of the twenty first Orientalists Congress. Paris 1948.

— Gustave von Grunebaum, *ARABIC CRITICISM IN THE TENTH CENTURY*. Journ. Am. Orien. Soc. 1941.)



For a number of years I have been interested in the study of the connection between Qur'anic sciences and Arabic literary criticism. (1) My attention was first drawn to this question through the study of general books on Arabic criticism and rhetoric, particularly those written in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. With very few exceptions, these books have one notable common characteristic, namely, the tendency of their authors to look first and foremost to the Qur'an in the formulation and definition of their critical concepts. That observation led to the second step in the enquiry, namely : how far, and in what manner did Qur'anic studies influence the evolution of Arabic criticism, especially at the early stages of its development :

(A) — It is generally agreed that the Qur'an, from the beginning of its revelation, occupied the first place among Arabic literary productions.

The Prophet's biographies abound in descriptions of the puzzled wonder with which the Arabs listened to the Qur'an. (2)

Thus, from the dawn of Islam, two literary phenomena were connected with the Qur'an: first, an unqualified admiration by the Muslims of its literary merits; and secondly, a complete surrender to its unchallengeable excellence of composition. This, along with the fact that the Qur'an became the guide by which Muslim life was to be regulated, has naturally given priority to Qur'anic studies over all others. The moment Arabic thought reached a sufficient degree of intellectual maturity it began to apply itself diligently to Qur'anic studies, especially from the point of view of linguistic usage and art of expression.

(B) — General references (1) give long lists of books on different aspects of Qur'anic study by authors who were also specialists in Arabic grammar, philology, literature and literary criticism. Some of these books are still in manuscript form, and it was only recently that they became available for study. (2)

1. Four research students in the Arabic Section, Faculty of Arts, Alexandria are working on some aspects of this field for their M.A. and Ph.D.

2. See for inst. *The Biography of the Prophet (AL-SIRAH)* by Ibn Hisham.

1. See : *AL-FIHRIST* by Ibn-al-Nadim (first article-third section).

2. See : *CATALOGUES OF THE INSTITUTE OF PHOTOGRAPHED MANUSCRIPTS* (Cultural Administration — Arab League — Cairo — 1948 and after).



Three of these early manuscripts will be dealt with in this paper. But I wish to indicate what appears to me to be the general line of contact between studies of Qur'anic composition and general critical studies of Arabic Literature.

(C) — They seem — during the third and fourth centuries A.H., to have developed side by side mutually influencing each other. Very often, especially in the third century, the same author contributed to both branches of study. Al-Jāhiz, for example, wrote a book on the « Composition of the Qur'an », and another on « Literary Expression and Exposition ». His contemporary Ibn-Qutāibah wrote on the « Problematics of the Qur'an » as well as on « Poetry and Poets ». The masterly treatment of the question of Qur'anic unchallengeable excellence by Al-Baqillani (who died in 403 A.H.) could also be regarded as a treatise on literary criticism. In the fifth century the treatment of the same question was made the basis for a science of rhetoric by Adbel-Qahir al-Jurjani (who died in 471 A.H.). Half a century later Al-Zamakhshari (who died in 538 A.H.) used the rhetorical approach in the interpretation of the Qur'an and the discovery of the secrets of its excellence.

Al-Tabari in the third century opened a field of researches in Qur'an interpretations which attracted scholars of widely different interests and approaches all through the centuries.

Another line of Qur'anic study, namely exegesis, contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of literary criticism. The monumental work of A-Tabari in the third century opened a field of researches in Qur'anic interpretations which attracted scholars of widely different interest and approaches all through the centuries.

(D). — Thus, in more than one way, the Qur'an was responsible for a large share in the enrichment of Arabic critical writings. In fact Qur'anic considerations sustained Arabic literary criticism during the period when Arabic creative and critical impulses were at their weakest. From the seventh century A.H. down to the beginning of the present century interest in the original critical problems raised by the literary critics of the third and fourth centuries faded almost completely away. Such problems as ancient and modern in poetry, originality and imitation, flowing creativeness and craftsmanship, the comparative study of poetical schools....., all such problems were almost lost, during the later centuries. But, due to the Qur'an, Arabic rhetoric was kept provided, during those centuries, with questions of composition which centered largely round the structure of the sentences, modes of expression, and ornaments of speech.

1. See : M. Khalafallah, *FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STANDPOINT IN THE STUDY AND CRITICISM OF LITERATURE*, in Arabic — fourth chapter — Cairo, 1947.



In the fifth century, Abdul-Qahir tried with a large measure of success to formulate a basic theory of rhetoric built on structure which he took to be a function of the meaning.

Contrariwise, his contemporary Ibn Sinàn, tried to discover the secrets of eloquence in word and sound. Less than two centuries later Ibnul-Athir tried to effect a balance between meaning and verbal expression, taking for his model and literary source of excellence, the composition of the Qur'an.

The interesting point to dwell upon here is the strong link between the critical problems raised by the early Qur'anic scholars, and the sciences of rhetoric as worked out and systematised by the later rhetoricians. The following analysis of three early manuscripts is intended to bring out this point.

The first is «Ma'ani-l-Qur'an» (Meaning of the Qur'an) by the Kufi grammarian Al-Farrà (who died in 207 A.H.) In this book the author gives critical observations of the Qur'anic style which can be grouped under five headings : direction philology, grammar, Qur'anic readings, and reasons for revelation. (2)

The second manuscript is «Majazu-l-Qur'an» (1) (Interpretation of Qur'anic Strange Usages » or « Qur'anic Ways of Expression ») by the famous literary transmitter « Abu-Obaidah » who died in 209 A.H. In his introduction the author writes : The Qur'an was revealed in a clear Arabic medium. This is expressed in the Qur'anic verse « We have not sent a messenger except in his people's tongue ». The first Muslim generation did not feel the need for asking about the meanings and usages of the Qur'an. But the generations that followed were not in that happy position. They needed help and guidance in the understanding of the Holy Book. The author, then, proceeds to enumerate the Qur'anic metaphors of omissions and addition, shifting of words from their usual position in the sentence, and changing of verb references ... etc. Having done this he goes on to his main task of briefly interpreting the Qur'an in the light of his introductory observations, elucidating each usage by quoting literary examples, mostly from pre-Islamic poetry. By so-doing, Abu-Obaidah throws considerable

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1. *Faculty of Arts Library — Alexandria — No. 3182 B.*
  2. *The same method is followed a century later in a book (manuscript No. 3183 — Faculty of Arts Library — Alex.) bearing the same title by another grammarian Al-Zajjaj who died in 311 A.H.*
  1. *Faculty of Arts Library, Alexandria, No. 3184 B.*



light on the art of Arabic literary composition, and helps to create an Arabic science of literary criticism.

The third and most important of these manuscripts from the point of view of our present enquiry is « Mushkil al-Qur'ân » (1) (Problematic usages of the Qur'ân) by the literary author « Ibn-Qutaibah » who died in 276 A.H. This is a valuable treatise on Qur'ânîc style. It utilises all that was known up to that time in the field of Arabic criticism. The author shows a genuine appreciation of literary excellence, and a masterly ability to analyse a Qur'ânîc verse or a line of poetry. He stresses the fact that only those who possess a trained taste and wide knowledge of Arabic art of expression can hope to appreciate the unique excellence of the Qur'ân. Most of the basic concepts of the later sciences of rhetoric are to be met with in this book. Metaphor, simile, analogy, metonymy, trope, synecdoche, repetition, changing position, in the sentence, concealing, exhibiting, expressing by indication, expressing openly, these and others like them are ways artifices of Arabic expression, and the Qur'ân exhibits them all in the highest order. The above is the reason why the Qur'ân cannot be successfully and exactly translated into another tongue.

A reader of these third century treatises on the style of the Qur'ân feels justified in inferring that Qur'ânîc considerations were a determining and guiding factor in the course which Arabic literary criticism took in later centuries. (2)

1. A copy in the Municipality Library, Alexandria, of a manuscript No. 663 *Exegesis*. Royal Egyptian Library, Cairo.
2. Abu-Hilal al-Askari, one of the important fourth century writers on the general theory of criticism starts his book « *Al-Sinâ'atayn* » (the two Arts) by asserting that the most important branch of study after theology is the science of rhetoric without which the search for the secrets of the inimitable excellence of God's Book cannot be attempted.



## RESUMÉ

This paper tries to put forward the suggestion that studies of the Qur'anic style and of its literary challenge to the Arabs played an important part in the rise and development of Arabic literary criticism.

The treatment of this hypothesis took the form of a historical analysis which brought out the following points :—

(A) — From Early Islamic times two Qur'anic phenomena stimulated critical studies, namely its sublime and effective style, and its challenge to Arabic literary ability to produce the like of it.

(B) — Two currents of criticism, one dealing with the Qur'an, another with Arabic prose and poetry went side by side in the third and fourth centuries, Qur'anic considerations, however, predominated in the general critical books of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.

(C) — Problems which later Arabic rhetoric inherited and concentrated on were mostly those primarily arising from Qur'anic usages and explored by early Islamic authors.

(D) — The analysis of three early manuscripts which have recently become available for study shows the pre-occupation of Islamic authors in the second and third centuries A.H. with the study of Qur'anic diction and style.

Prof. M. Khalafallah  
Dean of the Faculty of Arts,  
ALEXANDRIA

## خلاصة باللغة العربية

هذا البحث يقصد الى ابراز أهمية الدور الذي لعبته دراسات اسلوب القرآن واعجازه في تطور النقد الادبي العربي .

ويسير البحث في معالجة هذه الفكرة سيرا تحليليا تاريخيا كما يلي :

**اولا -** ينب الى ظاهرتين قرآنيتين اتصلتا بالنقد الادبي العربي منذ بدء الاسلام وزادتتا في ثروته وهما :

**ا -** اسلوب القرآن المؤثر .

**ب -** اعجازه فصحاء العرب وهم اهل اللسن والبيان - ان يجيئوا بمثله .

ثانيا - يسجل انه كانت هناك منذ بداية عصر التأليف حركتان نقديتان احدهما تعنى بالقرآن والاخرى بالادب العربي شعره ونثره - وانهما سارتا جنبا الى جنب في القرنين الثالث والرابع الهجريين . ولكن يبدو ان الاعتبار القرآنية تغلبت في كتب النقد العامة في القرون الهجرية الخامس والسادس والسابع ( في كتب عيد القاهر الجرجاني وابن الاثير وغيرهما ) .

**ثالثا -** يلفت النظر الى ان المسائل التي ورثتها البلاغة المتأخرة وركزت فيها اهتمامها هي خصائص تركيب الجملة وتنوع طرق الاداء ومحسنات الكلام وهي الموضوعات التي شق طريق البحث فيها علماء الدراسات العربية الاولى بوحى من نظم القرآن .

**رابعا -** يحلل ثلاث مخطوطات من كتب الدراسات القرآنية في نهاية القرن الثاني وفي الثالث الهجري ( مجاز القرآن لابى عبيده ومعانى القرآن للفراء ومشكل القرآن لابن قتيبه ) ليبين عناية المؤلفين الاولين بنواحي الاستعمال القرآني من جهة اللغة وخصائص الاسلوب .

**م .** خلف الله



## TROIS PHILOSOPHIES DE L'EXPERIENCE

Quelques remarques sur l'Empirisme

PAR

N. BALADI

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous voudrions montrer à la lumière de certaines pensées maîtresses des grands représentants de la philosophie anglaise classique, qu'il est impossible d'obtenir une conception univoque ou même suffisamment cohérente de l'empirisme, c'est-à-dire d'une philosophie qui entende faire foi exclusive au donné de l'expérience et de l'observation. Nous voudrions indiquer, en même temps, la possibilité pour l'étude des philosophies anglaises, d'une méthode qui retient, en dépit des ressemblances, l'apport original de chacune.

Toute philosophie moderne, dit-on, a son point de départ chez Descartes. Cette affirmation se justifie pour la philosophie anglaise, mais il faut voir dans quel sens. Tout d'abord, du point de vue historique, il a fallu de véritable contact ; c'est par l'intermédiaire de Malebranche, que Descartes le cartésianisme se développât et se répandit, avant que l'on ne pût parler de véritable contact ; c'est par l'intermédiaire de Malebranche, que Descartes a pu fournir un départ déterminé à la philosophie anglaise. C'est que, d'autre part, la philosophie anglaise moderne était déjà constituée avant Descartes, en même temps et immédiatement après. Mais chose caractéristique : l'apport de cette philosophie à la pensée européenne, dans le domaine métaphysique en particulier, n'est marqué ni par Bacon, ni par Hobbes, ni par Boyle. Il s'effectue avec Locke, Berkeley et Hume, ceux-là précisément chez qui l'empirisme, déjà clair chez Bacon, a suivi un infléchissement, par suite de l'expansion du cartésianisme et surtout de la forme que lui a donnée Malebranche entre 1675 et 1685.



C'est autour de ce qu'on peut appeler le problème de la *Troisième Méditation* que ce contact fécond entre la pensée française et la pensée anglaise prend sa signification la plus originale. L'âme a des idées, dit Descartes ; et dans, et par ses idées, elle connaîtra Dieu et le Monde. Elle est conçue tout d'abord, enfermée en elle-même, dans une insularité parfaite, apparemment antarchique. Mais voici qu'une légère attention à ses trésors, lui indique une porte de sortie, une transcendence possible : ses idées, celles du moins qui portent sur de vraies et immuables natures, ne sont pas seulement des modalités de son existence; elles révèlent des objets : cheval ou homme, triangle, cercle ou carré. Une idée surtout lui permettra de légitimer pour ainsi dire cette objectivité ; ce sera celle de l'Etre Parfait. Or, il importe de noter que, malgré cette *ek-sistence*, cette sortie de soi, le moi reste à couvert des objets, hors de toute atteinte ; c'est par Dieu seul que le monde sera affirmé et garanti dans l'Existence.

La chose est encore plus claire chez Malebranche : entre le moi attentif aux idées divines, à l'étendue *en Dieu*, et l'existence de cette même étendue, il y a un hiatus infranchissable. Si, au stade du *cogito*, l'existence extérieure demeure problématique pour Descartes, pour Malebranche, enraciné pour ainsi dire dans l'entendement divin, elle sera un véritable Mystère. Seul, porte la garantie de la clarté, de l'intelligibilité et de la certitude, le moi pur, perdu et perpétuellement retrouvé dans la contemplation des Idées.

## I

Plus que tout autre, Locke s'arrête devant ce moi pur, ce moi contemplant les idées divines et éternelles mais séparé de l'existence, du temps et des corps. Que faire pour l'y immerger de nouveau ? Locke commencera par rejeter, comme dénuées de sens et fictives, les idées divines et éternelles; l'homme aura ses idées à lui à son niveau, nées de son propre contact avec les choses. Ainsi replacé au sein des choses qui existent, il pourra agir et réagir, convenablement. Comme Aristote après Platon, Locke fait descendre la philosophie du ciel sur la terre, et les idées de Dieu à l'homme.

## II

Locke maintient l'expérience, l'existence et par conséquent, les choses qui existent; mais il maintiendra aussi que l'homme a ses idées résultant de son contact avec les choses et n'a que ses idées pour lui faire connaître les choses. D'une part, l'idée est *de* la chose et existe *par* la chose; d'autre part, la chose extérieure quelle que soit sa constitution intime, ne pourra pas être connue directement, immédiatement. L'existence qui sera directement donnée à l'homme, devra lui être immanente. Or, dans la mesure où cette existence intérieure devra manifester le monde qui nous transcende, elle en sera le signe et la représentation. « Du moment, dit-il dans un



passage célèbre de la fin de *l'Essai*, qu'aucune des choses que l'esprit contemple, à l'exception de lui-même, ne lui est directement présente, il est nécessaire que quelque autre chose, comme signe ou représentant de la chose même qu'il considère, lui soit présente : ce sont là les idées. »

Les idées sont donc les signes des choses ; la sensation de couleur est l'idée qui représente pour moi la couleur et qui m'en informe ; de même l'idée que j'ai de cette table que je ne puis connaître directement et immédiatement. Il est étonnant de constater combien Locke, mettant avant tout l'accent sur l'expérience, reste pourtant sur certains points en continuité harmonieuse avec ses propres adversaires, avec toute la tradition cartésienne. En un sens, l'homme ne sort pas de lui-même ; mais, en un certain sens aussi, nos idées nous font connaître les choses. Par un côté, l'idée est une existence mentale irréductible ; par un autre côté, l'idée est uniquement significative, uniquement représentative ; elle est une *idée de*. Quand Locke voudra assurer l'autonomie du *Mind*, l'idée sera une partie du contenu du *Mind* ; mais, quand il aura à affirmer la capacité cognitive du *Mind*, l'idée sera vers le dehors et vers les choses. Au fur et à mesure que *l'Essai* progresse, le lecteur passe des idées et de l'expérience à leur expression verbale et finalement à la connaissance ; mais au fur et à mesure aussi, l'idée sera de plus en plus l'idée de la chose, son signe et son représentant. La particule *de* a tous les privilèges ; la puissance représentative et, si l'on veut, génitive de l'idée, primera la puissance immanente de vie intérieure et mentale.

Selon une expression très heureuse de Whitehead, l'idée, dont parle Locke, est cause de bifurcation dans l'expérience humaine. Dans le devenir de la conscience, l'idée se trouve séparé, par une particule, de la chose dont elle est l'idée ; elle est moyen de rupture, d'effraction. Elle n'est pas seulement un événement qui m'est donné dans son immédiateté, qui porte avec lui son enseignement ; elle n'a de sens que parce qu'elle est coupée de la chose qu'elle est censée révéler. Au lieu de continuer le chemin intérieur de l'esprit entraînant après soi une infinité d'autres idées dans un flux perpétuel, l'idée est à l'encontre des chemins ; elle indique, elle montre du doigt.

## II

L'originalité de George Berkeley consiste précisément dans la négation du statut représentatif de l'idée ; d'avoir rejeté du domaine épistémologique, la validité de la *particule*, et ceci en faisant de l'idée la chose même présentée à l'esprit : « Je ne suis pas en train de transformer les choses en idées mais plutôt les idées en choses. »

L'intention de Berkeley semble être avant tout de propager la reli-



gieuse. Ses *Principes de la Connaissance Humaine* (1710) — dirigés contre les Infidèles et contre les Sceptiques, paraît 10 ans après le « *Christianity not mysterious* », de Toland, fondateur de la franc-maçonnerie en Angleterre. Les *Dialogues d'Hylas et Philonous* paraissent la même année que l'ouvrage de Collins: *Discourse on Free-Thinking* et que les *Characteristics* de Shaftesbury. Une vague de scepticisme mondain traverse l'Angleterre et va bientôt gagner le continent. De ce scepticisme, Voltaire recueille la vive impression durant son séjour en Angleterre, et en donnera les fruits un peu plus tard dans ses *Lettres Philosophiques*. Mais Berkeley, quoiqu'il daigne répondre aux pamphlets des Déistes et des Libres-penseurs, se transporte dès le début sur un autre plan, laissant pour plus tard le ton de la polémique et de la propagande, « Tout est orienté vers la pratique et la religion », dit-il dans l'un de ses cahiers de notes. Certes, les pensées maîtresses de sa philosophie, les détails aussi, sont l'objet d'une méditation solitaire, d'une préparation très soignée, d'un examen de conscience très aigu ; l'immatérialisme, son nouveau Principe, comme il lui arrive de l'appeler, est le résultat d'une série d'expériences massives, de véritables contacts. « J'étais méfiant dès l'âge de 8 ans » et tourné, par conséquent vers le nouveau Principe c'est-à-dire la négation des substances matérielles, des choses séparées de nos idées, dont parle Locke, du monde purement extérieur, des corps solides, fermés et opaques. Tout jeune encore, il fuyait la société, non par tempérament, mais par volonté : il voulait arriver de très bonne heure à retrouver l'univers, l'univers palpitant et chaleureux, de l'expérience, cet univers dont nous écartent les habitudes d'une existence plate, unidimensionnelle. Et la lecture des philosophes n'a fait que le confirmer dans cette décision ; car, plus abstraits que les cadres de la vie pratique et d'usage, sont ceux des philosophes. Descartes avec son étendue, attribut principal, Gassendi, Hebbes, Spinoza, avec leur atômes et leurs mouvements, Locke avec ses idées abstraites toutes fabriquées, avec sa chose étrangère, avec ses idées représentatives, tout cela a fait perdre aux hommes le sentiment de l'existence. « Je suis venu simplement pour donner aux hommes une nouvelle définition de l'existence » Il veut dire par là qu'il cherche à retrouver l'existence empirique, à la fois dans son immédiateté et dans sa richesse.

Tout d'abord, il retient de Locke dont pourtant il rejettera la doctrine, une leçon précieuse : Locke a rendu inacceptable la substance matérielle maintenue encore par Descartes et par Spinoza. Mais de la chose extérieure de Locke, dont l'idée est le digne représentant, il ne voudra pas non plus. A quel titre nos idées, ces données immédiates de l'expérience, se réfèrent-elles aux choses ? A titre de copies, d'images ? Mais s'il y a copie, il y aura modèle ; et du modèle à la copie, il doit y avoir ressemblance. Pourtant la chose est dite différente, distincte de mon idée, de ce qui m'est présenté et par conséquent dissemblable. D'ailleurs, comment l'expérience me permettra-t-elle de parler d'une ressemblance entre ce que je connais et ce que j'ignore, et qui ne m'est présenté en aucune manière.



On objectera à Berkeley : il y a autant gageure à réduire le monde aux idées, qu'à transformer les idées en réalité. Berkeley semble acculé à une alternative : ou bien c'est le monisme qui est vrai ; ou bien, nous vivons dans un rêve perpétuel. Mais Berkeley demandera d'abord : qu'est-ce qu'une idée ? C'est ce qui est *perçu*. Or, le *perçu*, présuppose un percevant, requiert un esprit ; il n'a de sens que parce qu'il est relatif à un esprit ; et par là même, sa structure est totalement différente de celle de l'esprit. — En outre : l'objecteur voudrait-il octroyer l'existence à un mon de non-donné, non expérimenté, la nier de ce qui nous est donné de ce que nous expérimentons ? De quel côté serait donc la gageure ? — Enfin, l'objecteur voit la réalité comme une étendue froide et géométrique.

Il la sépare de son contexte, de ses différents titres de présence ; chaleur, couleur, saveur, son etc... Elle seule existe pur lui ; tout le reste est un rêve. Mais, en fait, l'expérience, nous donne toujours une étendue colorée ; les qualités géométriques s'y trouvent étoffées, jamais nues. Là où est l'étendue, là aussi se trouvent couleur, chaleur, son, saveur etc...

Expérience et réalité sont donc identiques si je ne fragmente pas la réalité, si je ne la sépare pas de ce qui lui donne sa signification, c'est-à-dire de mon esprit ; et de ce qui lui donne sa saveur, sa couleur, sa chaleur et son son.

Monde riche, monde dense, mais monde intelligible aussi. D'abord parce qu'il se réfère à une intelligence, n'existe que par cette référence-là ; toute référence extérieure étant dénuée de sens. Monde intelligible parce que transparent pour l'intelligence qui le retient et le regarde.

Locke disait que les idées sont les signes des choses ; Berkeley dira que les idées sont les choses elles-mêmes. Mais il affirmera avec autant de force, que les idées sont des signes. Y a-t-il une idée isolée, fermée aux autres, qui n'entretienne avec les autres idées, certaines communications ? La couleur appelle l'odeur et les deux appellent la rondeur, la consistance ; et le tout forme une pomme, une orange. Je dirai donc l'orangé est signe de l'orange, comme je dirai que telle nuance de rouge est signe de telle surface lisse, celle de la pomme. De plus, une disposition de couleurs, une nuance de lumière nous indique une grandeur ; des couleurs distinctes ou confuses ; des sensations oculaires d'effort et de tension signifient une distance ; une distance et une grandeur ajoutée aux couleurs nous suggèrent une position. Toutes ces qualités visibles ne se confondent pourtant nullement avec la grandeur que j'estimerai avec mes doigts, ni avec la distance que je mesure par les mouvements de mon corps. Qu'importe ! l'expérience établit de très bonne heure un rapport de signes à choses signifiées, et ce rapport établi nous dispense de tout apprentissage et d'effort. — Or en y réfléchissant, ce rapport de signe à chose signifiée est universel ; il se retrouve partout dans la nature ; la fumée est signe du feu comme la douleur est signe de la coupure du doigt. Et ce qui est encore plus remarquable, ce rapport est symé-



trique et réciproque : ce qui est signe dans un contexte peut être signifié dans un autre, et inversement. Une cause est signe de son effet et inversement. En un mot, toute relation dans le monde est une relation entre idées parce que les idées sont mutuellement et perpétuellement significatives.

A l'univers ancien, doué de vertus, de forces, de qualités occultes, à l'univers des choses causées et cansantes, à l'univers mécanique et étranger à l'homme, se substitue un univers intérieurement transparent, dont les parties sont mutuellement significatives. L'univers est un langage ; c'est qu'il y a un Esprit qui nous parle d'une infinité de manières. Tout le chœur du ciel et tout le mobilier de la terre chantent la Gloire de Dieu. Et les corps ? que deviennent les corps ? Ils sont la mince pellicule qui nous cache Dieu ; ou plutôt un léger rideau que nous n'avons qu'à écarter pour goûter à l'arbre de vérité.

Voilà les fruits de l'expérience ; ou voilà la réalité telle que me la donne l'expérience : riche, dense, pleine de sens ; jamais opaque, toujours transparente, toujours ouverte. Elle m'aide à voir Dieu ; elle chante Dieu avec moi.

### III

David Hume rédige son *Treatise on Human Nature*, bien avant la mort de Berkeley. Ce dernier y est cité comme appui et comme précurseur. La pensée de Berkeley se retrouve chez Hume, interprétée, parfois rétrécie, mais le plus souvent transformée de fond en comble. Il n'avaient pas la même tournure d'esprit ; il ne cherchaient pas la même chose ; rien d'étonnant à ce qu'ils aboutissent à des conclusions totalement différentes.

Hume nous raconte en mainte endroits qu'il était pris de très bonne heure par une passion irrésistible pour les « lettres » et la philosophie ; il est travaillé du désir d'écrire, de se faire connaître, de se faire admirer par ses écrits. Et il n'y a pas là expression de fatuité excessive, ni même d'ambition voilée ou raffinée ; il s'agit pour Hume de répondre à un appel intérieur, confus au début, et qui devient de plus en plus conscient. Hume est à la recherche intense de ce qu'on peut appeler une satisfaction absolue. Rien, chez lui, de cette enquête sur le monde que nous avons trouvée chez Berkeley, de ce désir de Locke d'assurer les bases spéculatives de l'action et de la croyance religieuse. Hume cherche avant tout une satisfaction *sui generis*, purement spéculative, mais aussi purement intérieure et personnelle. — En plus de cette recherche de la satisfaction et en rapport étroit avec elle, nous notons de très bonne heure chez lui la recherche d'un critère, d'une pierre de touche. Comment saurais-je que ce que je connais est la vérité ? Comment décrire l'état privilégié de la connaissance ? — Or dans



la formation de sa philosophie, qui comme celle de Locke et celle de Berkeley, est une philosophie à la fois de la réalité et de la réalité expérimentée, les deux motifs que nous venons de signaler vont jouer un rôle capital.

Berkeley, disions-nous, en niant la coupure entre la réalité et nos idées, en identifiant nos idées au monde, institue une philosophie de l'im-médiat, du réel dans son épaisseur sensible. Chez Hume, au premier abord, quelque chose de semblable ; l'expression va seulement changer. Au lieu de partir de l'idée dont l'implication mentale est manifeste, nous partirons généralement de la perception, c'est-à-dire de l'état dans lequel un objet est supposé être saisi par l'esprit ; et au sein de cette perception, nous opérerons une distinction entre les perceptions les plus vives, les plus fortes, et celles qui sont plus pâles et plus faibles ; nous appellerons les premières « impressions », et les secondes « idées ». Quand nous ressentons une douleur cuisante, une chaleur ou un contact agréable, quand nous voyons du bleu ou de l'orangé, quand nous goûtons un vin de qualité déterminée, nous avons des impressions ; quand nous nous rappelons simplement une extraction de dent, quand nous pensons à la couleur de la tapisserie de notre chambre, nous avons des idées. Entre les deux perceptions, la différence est de force, d'intensité, et non de référence objective, ni même de signification : quand une impression m'est donnée, absolument parlant rien autre ne m'est donné ni suggéré ; elle se suffit à elle-même comme impression, comme état subjectif intense, pris dans sa particularité. Je n'ai pas plus le droit de l'appeler objet que je n'ai le droit d'appeler le blanc rouge ou le sucré amer. Je n'ai pas même le droit de dire que ceci ou cela m'est révélé : je suis moi-même, à tel moment, telle ou telle impression, telle ou telle idée. L'impression se révèle par conséquent, essentiellement non-significative, essentiellement non-objective. Et cette impression précédant, bien-entendu, toutes les idées qui en sont les copies, est la pierre de touche pour l'esprit. Toutes les fois que je suis embarrassé pour savoir si une conception est vraie ou fausse, je n'aurai tout simplement qu'à remonter à son origine, à une impression ou à un état de suffisante intensité. Toutes les fois aussi que, pour une raison ou pour une autre, j'échouerai à retrouver l'impression originale mais que je réussisse pourtant, sous l'influence d'un examen empirique attentif, à embrasser la conception en question dans un état de suffisante intensité, si j'y réussis, je ressens une satisfaction. Cet état subjectif intense qui n'est plus une idée, mais que je n'ai pas le droit non plus d'appeler une impression, c'est la croyance. A côté de l'impression et de sa pâle copie, l'idée, nous pouvons avoir des croyances ; et autant nous pouvons compter sur l'impression, autant nous pouvons compter sur une croyance.

Comment, à l'aide de ces états intenses, mais purement immanents, puis-je concevoir un monde extérieur, un monde d'existences continues et distincts de moi-même ? Tant que l'on reste dans l'impression prise en elle-même, la chose semble impossible. Mais les impressions se répètent bien qu'à des intervalles discontinus ; et des impressions se répétant sans être identiques peuvent être semblables. Une nuance de bleu n'est pas la même qu'une



autre nuance ; le bleu de ces yeux n'est pas le bleu de ce que j'appelle les mêmes yeux que j'ai vus hier ; car entre hier et aujourd'hui, mon regard n'a pas fixé ce bleu tout le temps ; et même l'ayant fixé, je ne l'aurai pas pensé identique ; car le bleu m'apparaît à des moments différents ; il est fait d'impressions qualitativement et temporellement différentes ; *seulement l'impression du bleu place mon esprit dans des dispositions semblables*. Quelque chose en moi semble reconnaître ce bleu ; quelque chose aussi en moi, méconnaît la diversité des impressions pour ne regarder que leur similarité, quelque chose en moi semble traverser cette variété comme dans un pays connu. Et des impressions, qui placent mon esprit dans des dispositions continuellement similaires n'ont rien que les distingue d'impressions qui placent mon esprit dans une disposition identique. Ces cheveux noirs que je revois en 3 mois pour la dixième fois, sont *comme* les cheveux que mon regard a fixés une fois pendant dix minutes ou pendant une heure. Je glisse insensiblement (*I glide smoothly*) dit Hume, d'une disposition à l'autre ; et les impressions glissent en moi, avec moi et me donnent l'illusion de l'identité.

Je m'éveille parfois au désaccord des impressions, je tente de me révolter contre une imagination paresseuse qui m'invite à voir, dans des impressions différentes, des objets identiques. Je remarque le décalage de ces impressions interrompues durant le temps, *par rapport* à cet objet supposé identique. Mais je ne puis souffrir ce désaccord très longtemps. Je vais même encore plus loin ; au lieu de me contenter d'un objet que j'expérimente moi comme identique, durant les intervalles du temps, j'attribue à cet objet, une existence durable, continue. Ces cheveux noirs demeurent les mêmes quand je ne les aperçois pas, quand je n'en ai plus l'impression ; et comme j'ai glissé insensiblement des dispositions semblables aux impressions semblables, et des impressions semblables aux impressions identiques, je glisserai insensiblement aux objets identiques, doués d'existence continue.

Et quand je retrace en arrière l'impression que j'ai en ce moment, impression que j'ai fortement envie de rattacher à un objet identique et continu, des souvenirs d'impressions semblables me reviennent à la pensée et m'invitent encore plus fortement à regarder l'impression actuelle comme l'effet d'une présence réelle, l'effet d'un objet dont l'existence est continue ; et les impressions passées et celles du moment et les propensions actuelles mettent cet objet, dont je suppose l'existence, dans une vive clarté ; je ne le suppose plus, je ne le conçois plus, je ne l'ai plus en idée, j'y *crois*. Me voilà revenu, après un long chemin, à la certitude première, à la seule qui me soit possible, la certitude de l'état vif et intense, la certitude de la sensation.

Or, dans tous les domaines où nous devons dépasser l'impression (et ce sont à peu près tous les domaines de la pensée philosophique et scientifique), nous entretenons des idées, des conceptions. Au sujet de l'identité per-



sonnelle, de la causalité, de la nature de l'âme, nous avons des *idées*, c'est-à-dire des états pâles et évanescents. Mais grâce à une dialectique tissée d'illusion comme celle que nous venons de retracer au sujet du monde extérieur, notre idée passera de la pâleur à la vivacité, de la réflexion à la présence, et de l'imagination à la croyance.

Cette dialectique de l'accroissement dévoile, à l'intelligence, l'illusion dont elle est à peu près toujours victime; et à cette dialectique s'en substitue une autre, une dialectique de la *dégénérescence*. La croyance, examinée de près se révèle inconsistente; tout examen minutieux l'affaiblit nécessairement; de certaine, elle devient seulement probable, et chaque nouvel examen en diminue l'intensité et par là même, la probabilité. En poussant cet examen à la limite, la croyance s'évanouira nécessairement.

Inutile de reprendre la description étonnement subtile, par laquelle Hume découvre à la pensée, le néant de ses conceptions; Hume lui-même s'efforce parfois sincèrement de nous tranquilliser: aux deux dialectiques que nous venons de signaler, s'ajoute enfin ce qu'on pourrait appeler une dialectique *de la nature*. — L'intelligence, quand elle aboutit à des résultats totalement négatifs, fait son office d'intelligence; et pour elle, du moins, la situation est irrémédiable. Mais il n'y a pas que l'intelligence en l'homme. La nature vitale de l'homme, a également un devoir à accomplir; après des moments de vide total, de nuit complète, la nature reprend le dessus. La nature ne peut souffrir le doute, la suspension de la pensée; encore moins un néant de pensée. La nature invite le penseur à renouveler sa confiance dans les sensations, elle le pousse de nouveau à passer des *idées* aux croyances, aux états vifs et intenses, qui ramènent avec elles la *satisfaction*. — Sans doute l'intelligence reviendra à la charge et montrera l'inconsistance et des idées et des croyances. Et ainsi de suit jusqu'à l'infini: jeux de la pensée d'une part, force de la coutume d'autre part. — Par rapport à l'une et par rapport à l'autre, quel serait le dernier mot de la philosophie? Durant les moments de négation, il faut savoir attendre la fin, avoir la conscience que ces moments ne sont pas définitifs. D'autre part, quand c'est la coutume qui triomphe, ne pas refuser la satisfaction qu'elle offre; mais il faut savoir surtout considérer ces moments avec un esprit sceptique. La nature nous sauve du scepticisme de la pensée en demeurant en dehors de la pensée.

Cet examen rapide de l'empirisme anglais dans son époque peut-être la plus brillante, nous révèle plusieurs choses. Tout d'abord, quelle que soit l'origine première de l'empirisme anglais, il est certain qu'à son apogée, il s'est affirmé comme réaction consciente à une philosophie qui ne fut nullement empiriste, qui ne prétendait nullement s'astreindre aux leçons de l'expérience et de l'observation. En outre, les représentants de cet empi-



risme entretiennent entre eux les rapports philosophiques les plus étroits, l'un ou l'autre commence sérieusement à réfléchir et à écrire quand il a déjà bien connu son prédécesseur. Leurs philosophies restent pourtant très distinctes, irréductibles mêmes. Rien de comparable entre leurs « idées » : de l'idée de Locke à la fois intermédiaire indispensable et obstacle entre la conscience et la chose l'idée de Berkeley, signe et chose; de cette dernière idée, sortant pour ainsi dire toute fraîche du bain de la réalité, à l'idée de Hume glissant insensiblement vers le néant, il n'y a pas de véritable continuité. — La réalité, dont ils parlent, n'est pas la même non plus : elle est extérieure à moi et étrangère ; ou extérieure et familière ; ou absente, lointaine mais efficace quand même, puisqu'avec les effluves, qui en émanent, les « impressions », je reconstitue un rêve intérieur. — Par aucun moyen, je ne puis déduire l'une de ces philosophies de l'autre, la faire engendrer à partir de l'autre : mondes distincts ou plutôt vues distinctes d'un monde.

L'examen de la dernière de ces philosophies nous conduit précisément à conclure qu'il est à la fois impossible de concevoir un seul empirisme, et nécessaire de passer d'une doctrine à son opposé, de ne jamais s'arrêter. Et c'est pourquoi il y aura autant de philosophies de l'expérience que de regards philosophiques, si chaque regard est la fine pointe de cette expérience, et si chaque philosophie a le loisir de l'exprimer. — Dans une page caractéristique de son œuvre principale, Samuel Alexander compare l'esprit en rapport avec ses objets, à un plat dont chaque partie ne refléchit qu'un mets déterminé. Il n'y aurait pas plus d'uniformité entre les différentes philosophies de l'Expérience qu'a données et que donnera l'Angleterre qu'entre les parties de ce plat. Il faudrait ajouter, en transposant les remarques d'Alexander, que ces philosophies, comme les différentes courbures du plat imaginaire, représenteraient d'une manière indéfiniment variées, les aspects d'une réalité infiniment complexe.



## فكرة موجزة عن المقال

### « التجربة »

#### ملاحظات على المذهب التجريبي

يرمى المؤلف في الصفحات السابقة الى اظهار المعانى المختلفة لكلمة « التجربة » عند الفلاسفة الانجليز ، وخاصة عند اولئك الذين أسسوا في انجلترا المذهب التجريبي : لوك وباركلي وهيوم .

وتؤدى دراسة نصوص الفلاسفة المذكورين المؤلف الى استبعاد قيام مذهب تجريبي انجليزى واحد ، والى وجود فلسفات تجريبية متنوعة بقدر ما هنالك من شخصيات فلسفية متميزة .

ويشير المؤلف في نهاية المقال الى ان الفلسفات المختلفة تتطلب من دارسها عدا المنهج التاريخى الذى يقف عند العلاقات الواضحة بين الفلاسفة وما بينهم من تأثيرات وتأثرات ، اتخاذ منهج فلسفى يظهر الاختلافات الجوهرية القائمة بين الفلاسفة ، ونصيب كل منهم فى دراسة العالم والانسان .



## THE APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN THE POETRY OF TWO GENERATIONS

by

Dr. NUR SHERIF

The general tendency of the artists of the 'twenties, headed by T.S. Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce and W.B. Yeats was to create a personal myth around the present and from there to approach society. Edwin Muir calls them the «lonely» or «homeless» generation because they stood alone against society and were painfully conscious of the loneliness of the individual. The typical hero of this period is the isolated individual who is an individualist, not because he believes in individualism, but because there does not seem to be any other way open to him. We have a picture of this individual in nearly all Virginia Woolf's novels, in Eliot's poetry and in Joyce's *Ulysses*. He presents a picture of helplessness, frustration and an utter lack of faith in the future regeneration of society.

Among this generation, however, there stands one who overcame his loneliness and romanticism and whose later poetry, as a result, is the most vigorous the twentieth century has known. The strength of Yeats's poetry is the outcome of his healthy and realistic attitude to life. He learnt to accept, after bitter experience, the different aspects of existence, the good and the bad, as part of a vast pattern. But before he was able to formulate his philosophy of acceptance, Yeats went through a line of development which differs much from that of modern poets in general, although it comes close to the development of the ordinary intelligent human being. The tendency of most of the artists of the twentieth



century has been to move from realism to romanticism, from an interest in the external world and its problems to a final recoil from its complications. Yeats, on the other hand, developed in the opposite direction : he started as a romantic escapist and gradually became, as the result of the interaction between him and the world of external events, a realist of the first order. The 'eighties and 'nineties of the nineteenth century are as far removed from the post-war (1914-1918) period and the 'thirties of the present century as is the world of the Sidhe from that of Crazy Jane in the poetry of W.B. Yeats. This change in the outside world is to a large degree responsible for the particular line of development in his poetry.

Yeats grew up in an Ireland of relative stability, an Ireland which, to all appearances, was still living in the eighteenth century. It was an agricultural country ruled by a landowning class which, although arrogant and snobbish, had not yet acquired the dullness and vulgarity of the commercial middle class. Yeats had spent his boyhood among this hearty and vigorous people who gained their vitality through direct contact with the peasant. The peasantry itself was living in close communion with the earth, its source of livelihood, and with the past. Ireland had not yet broken the link with the past ; she and her people were part of a long established tradition and the sense of unity and continuity was the essence of Irish life.

Yeats was part of this harmonious existence. His fiery imagination had been roused by Ireland's cultural tradition, particularly because as a boy he had listened enthralled to stories of his ancient land told by the peasants in their beautiful imaginative language. Celtic mythology, however, had captivated him in such a way as to blind him to the here and now. Irish landscape became, for him, an embodiment of the romantic world of the past ; the associations it roused were from Irish legend and history. The beauty of the present was seen, not as an embodiment of the world of reality, but as a world which evoked memories from the past. For Yeats, the imagination was altogether divorced from reality and the present.

During this early period, Yeats was a thoroughgoing roman-



tic aesthete for whom poetry was an expression of the beautiful and the timeless. He was the bard who wished « to pluck the silver apples of the moon and the golden apples of the sun ». Yeats, the romantic, is embodied in the hero of *Shadowy Waters* who sails through fairy seas in pursuit of a dream and an ideal love which is not of this earth,

But a beautiful unheard of kind  
That is not in the world.

During this early phase of his development, Yeats's poetry was in keeping with and an expression of the romantic spirit of his people and their times. Gradually the Irish way of life and thought began to take on a different appearance ; the structure of society began to change. A new middle class with shop-keeping and materialistic values, antagonistic to the old leisurely and aristocratic way of life, was emerging. Yeats felt that this meant the destruction of the old ideals and beliefs which had held the community together and, therefore, the disintegration of society. It is these conditions which first brought Yeats face to face with reality.

Unable to shut out the world around him, the poet who had chosen to dwell in fairyland, cultivating the imagination and enjoying beauty for its own sake, began to express a certain uneasiness in his poetry. In *These Are the Clouds* there is a presentiment that the old aristocratic tradition is dying out and a foreboding of social revolution. A sense of evil which is gradually enveloping the old world is felt throughout the poem :

The weak lay hand on what the strong has done,  
Till that he tumbled that was lifted high  
And discord follow upon unison,  
And all things at one common level lie.

The new Ireland was unpleasantly different from the Ireland of Yeats's youth, the Ireland he had imagined and sung of in his poetry. It was a noisy, angry, discordant place. The shock



which this new aspect of his country caused Yeats helped to develop in him the more natural human feelings of scorn, pride and disgust all of which are absent from his early poetry. These feelings enabled him to see his country in a clear light. The « Red Rose », the « Rose of all Roses » and the « Rose of all the world » had turned into a quarrelsome crowd, thus killing the old spirit of Ireland. And disillusionment, a note so far alien in Yeats's work, makes its appearance in *September 1913*:

Was it for this the wild geese spread  
The grey wing upon every tide ;  
For this that all that blood was shed,  
For this Edward Fitzgerald died,  
And Robert Emmet and Wolfe Tone,  
All that delirium of the brave ?  
Romantic Ireland's dead and gone,  
It's with O'Leary in the grave.

Romantic Ireland had died with the idealist O'Leary and now romantic Yeats was also dying. In *A Coat* he promises to discard all his former trappings. As early as *The Green Helmet* the elaborate and concentrated use of mythology has disappeared; the style has become simple and direct and the imagery is vivid. Yeats's aim has now become

To write for my own race  
And for the reality.

This opportunity was given to him with the political developments in Ireland and the Irish Nationalist movement. The Easter rebellion of 1916 thrust him forward on to the path of realism. The old Celtic mythology gives way to a new set of values derived from and embodied in the heroes of the movement and the new Ireland they hoped to bring to birth. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the leaders of the movement won the admiration and gratitude of the Irish people. Yeats, who was in Dublin at the time of the outburst, was personally touched by the rebellion for a-



mong the leaders were many whom he knew and loved. And both poet and nationalist heroes were caught up in the fight for Ireland in this new phase of her history.

The Celtic twilight dissolves into the light of day. Yeats exchanges his embroidered coat for a workaday coat as he descends into the most real of all realities—the world of politics and action; the past is now left behind. The scene of his poem *Easter 1916* is that of Dublin with its eighteenth century architecture and the « people coming from counter to desk ». The people are shown in their simplicity ; they are seen as they really are with no halo of romance surrounding them. There is the Countess Markiewicz who « spent her days in ignorant good will », and her « nights in argument », the schoolmaster Pearse and Connolly his friend, and MacBride « the drunken vainglorious lout ». All have their part in that casual comedy which suddenly turns into tragedy, making heroes and heroines of them. Although Yeats was not altogether in favour of shedding blood and was inclined to think that it was needless, his sympathy goes out to the heroes of the movement :

We know their dream ; enough  
To know they dreamed and are dead ;  
And what if excess of love  
Bewildered them till they died ?

I write it out in verse —  
Macdonagh and MacBride  
And Connolly and Pearse  
Now and in time to be,  
Wherever green is worn,  
Are changed, changed utterly :  
A terrible beauty is born.

The old Ireland had been beautiful in its mystery, but the new Ireland was beautiful in a terrifying way. This was a strange new country, alive and struggling for life not lost in the world of dreams and romance. Its people resembled neither the simple-hearted peasant with his legends of a past glory, nor the aristocracy with its polished manners and cultural heritage ; they were a people stained with blood through action. It is they who supply



Yeats in his later years with a fresh set of symbols of immediate significance and appeal. In this way his brooding sense of the past as embodied in Celtic mythology becomes a developed consciousness of history in the making with actual living heroes. Taken as a group the poems *September 1913*, *Easter 1916* and *Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen* vividly present a phase of Irish history as seen, felt and related by an Irishman.

This struggling world of blood and action, however, soon threatened Yeats with disillusionment and he cut himself off from the world of politics and public affairs, burying himself in his ancient Galway tower to live amidst old memories and dreams. He had not yet fully developed as an artist and was still unable to reconcile himself to reality with all its disappointments. It is during this period that disillusionment weighs him down and a tired old age feeling creeps over Yeats, not unlike T.S. Eliot's feeling in *The Waste Land*. The absence of anything positive to cling to accounts for the sense of emptiness in this poetry. As Yeats withdraws from the world, creeping back into himself, he sees from the roof of his ivory tower armies «fighting and plunging to emptiness» and «phantoms of Hatred and of the Heart's fullness and of the coming Emptiness». Yeats now echoes Eliot's weariness, exhaustion and pessimism all of which are the result of his disgust with the turn of events, both in Ireland and in Europe :

We are closed in, and the sky is turned  
In our uncertainty.

He is painfully conscious that «many ingenious lovely things are gone». The voice of the tired old man speaks of the solidity and beauty of the past which has now become a subject for brooding :

We too had many pretty toys when young.

The link with the past has snapped and the continuity is broken.

The butchery which took place during the Irish Rebellion has much to do with Yeats's disillusionment and his temporary



retreat from the world of reality. In *Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen* we get a vision of this bloody violent Ireland from which he is shrinking:

Now days are dragon-ridden, the nightmare  
Rides upon sleep: a drunken soldiery  
Can leave the mother, murdered at her door,  
To crawl in her own blood, and go scot free.

The world of public affairs, of action and of the senses, as Yeats has come to see it, is no longer for him ; it is a place only for the young. « That is no country for old men » he says in *Sailing to Byzantium*. His desire now is to be gathered into the artifice of eternity » never to « take bodily form from any natural being ».

One would have thought that by this time Yeats had reached the final stage of his development and that he would have ended by turning his back on reality and escaping into the past he had loved as a young man. But he was too vigorous a poet to do that. He still felt attracted to the actual world of life and struggle. Even the post-war world which inspired Eliot with *The Waste Land*, a poem of almost complete negation, produced from Yeats's pen *The Second Coming* from which hope in the future is not absent. The picture of the modern world which Yeats presents is one of confusion and disintegration :

Turning and turning in the widening gyre  
The falcon cannot hear the falconer ;  
Things fall apart ; the centre cannot hold ;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.....

Yet he is not driven to despair, for the future holds for him «The Second Coming», the promise of a new world and a regeneration. The secret of his faith and his final acceptance of the disorder of the modern world lies in a highly elaborate pattern into which he fits past, present and future, relating them to the whole of eternity. The Wheel of Time is the symbol he gives this scheme which is based on ancient and Indian philosophies combined into a personal myth. In his Wheel of Time the conflicts and discords of life form the pattern of existence ; apparent frustration



and failure are part of the eternal process. Variety and conflict go to make up life and movement. Yeats sees time and eternity as complementary ; neither can exist without the other. The world of Becoming is put into action by the world of Being, and the world of Being derives its pattern and meaning from the world of Becoming.

With the aid of this personal myth Yeats was able to plunge into the midst of reality and to face the ugliness of the present without falling into despair or trying to escape. Like Eliot who approaches the modern world from «the still centre of the turning world », so Yeats sees it through the pattern of his Wheel of Time, thus giving it meaning.

There is little or no conflict at all in Yeats's later poetry. The reality with which he is confronted in his later years and the ideal which captured his imagination as a young poet have been fully reconciled. This explains the vigour and youth of the later Yeats who seems to grow younger with the passage of time. He now accepts the temporal world with all its impurities :

What matter if the ditches are impure ?

What matter if I live it all once more ?

I am content to live it all once again

And yet again if it be to pitch

Into the frog-spawn of the blind man's ditch,

A blind man battering blind men. (1)

Everything has its place in the pattern and must be accepted. Unlike the young Yeats who went in search of an ideal world, the older Yeats does not attempt to transcend the temporal. To be part of the struggle, to fight against hidden destiny is man's fate. Out of the conflict within the individual himself : between the body and soul and between the intellect and the imagination ; and out of the struggle between the individual and the external

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(1) *A Dialogue of Self and Soul.*



world, emerge the beauty and variety of life together with its force and pattern. All we can do is to accept this determinist pattern.

Thus Yeats who was once a dreamer of dreams, now blesses « the bloody arrogant power » of the man of action. He has been won over to « the mire and blood » and has rejected the stainless moon whose purity nothing can blemish. He is fully aware of the consequences of the choice he has made. This is apparent in his poem *Among Schoolchildren*. By this time he is « a sixty year old smiling public man » inspecting a school kept by nuns. As he watches the girls he remembers the woman he loved. He sees a picture of her as she might have been as a child. Back in the present, however, he sees her as she really is, an old woman :

Her present image floats into the mind —  
Did Quattrocento finger fashion it  
Hollow of cheek as though it drank the wind  
And took a mess of shadows for its meat ?

Beauty is transient, it decays with the decay of the body. Even divine beauty is symbolised by « perishable objects ». Nevertheless, Yeats comes to the conclusion that « body » must not be « bruised to pleasure soul ». All that really counts are the instinctive and simple joys of life represented by the « blossoming of the chestnut tree » and « the body swayed to music ».

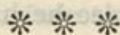
Crazy Jane is the exponent of Yeats' final phase of development and his vigorous acceptance of life with both its ugliness and its beauty. When the Bishop deplores the loss of her virginity and advises her to give up this « foul sty » and live in a « heavenly mansion », she retorts :

Fair and foul are near of kin,  
And fair needs foul.

In the same way Yeats is able to accept the confusion and disorder depicted in *The Second Coming* and the disintegration of Ireland. For in this fragmentary picture of the present, the artist can see order, and as the Wheel of Time turns, the opposing



forces of the present resolve into harmony ; out of the anarchic state of the present appears « the second coming ». Until this happens, Yeats believes that it is the task of the artist to maintain the order which the individual, caught in the struggle, fails to discern. In this way Yeats both accepts and transcends the temporal ; he transcends it by accepting it.



By the time Yeats had reconciled himself to reality in its different forms, another group of young poets found themselves confronted with the same problem which first came to Yeats's notice during the Irish Rebellion and later with the chaos and disintegration of the post-war world. Yeats, however, had grown up in a more limited world and was introduced to society and its problems gradually and in small doses. He was not altogether taken by surprise and was, therefore, slowly able to adjust himself to the new conditions. The positive values of Celtic mythology give way to the positive values of fighting Ireland and her heroes, and these are finally superseded by Yeats's own personal myth. Thus Yeats is well armed in his descent into the world of public affairs and action.

On the other hand, the life which the poets of the 'thirties knew from the start was lacking in pattern and harmony. The tired and lonely 'twenties which the Eliot generation had experienced and which drove its members into an ivory tower came to a sensational close with the outbreak of the 1929-1931 economic crises. With modern civilisation crumbling wherever he turned there seemed to be nowhere the artist could escape. Compared with this new menacing life, Yeats's world was comparatively sheltered and limited. Public events now forcibly imposed themselves upon the younger generation who had never enjoyed the luxury of positive values. The economic crises revealed the flimsiness of the whole social, political and economic structure of society. It brought to light an unforgettable state of chaos which



proved even more oppressive than the fragmentariness and discord of the post-war years. The feeling was growing that there must be something fundamentally wrong with an economic system so full of paradoxes as to allow people to starve in the midst of plenty.

The necessity of establishing order into such a state of universal disorder was generally recognised everywhere in the 'thirties. In England and America reform increased and a serious attempt was made to improve the economic status of the individual. In both Germany and Italy efforts were directed to bringing the economic and social system under control. Finally, there was Russia who, earlier in the 'twenties, had realised the need for economic planning and was now, as a result, enjoying some semblance of order and a relatively stable form of existence, even while the States and Europe were groaning under the weight of the economic crises. Thus, the spotlight was being focused on economics.

It was equally being directed upon politics. This is apparent in the growing strength of the militarist states of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy whose policy of aggression threatened to plunge the world into war. In short, the general atmosphere of the 'thirties was one of action and political tension which the artist could hardly ignore. For as Stephen Spender, the poet, says :

When the very existence of civilisation is threatened by war and oppression, politics become either an affirmation of life or an alliance with death. More than this in innumerable ways, even when men are unaware of it, the activity of their lives assumes a political aspect. Although they may be indifferent to politics and politicians they cannot ignore the contemporary history which feeds or starves them, breeds and shoots them (1)

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(1) *The Destructive Element.*



Thus, as with Yeats earlier in the century, the external world forced itself upon a group of young poets who accepted the challenge plunging knee-deep into the world of politics, economics and social reform. Unlike the older generation of the 'twenties who saw life mainly as a collection of private problems, the poets of the 'thirties, headed by W.H. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis and Stephen Spender, learnt to trace every evil to a political or economic cause. Like the Eliot generation they were in revolt against their society which was a denial of all human values ; but contrary to them, the Auden group chose to immerse itself in society and tried to get to the root of the trouble which was causing so much unhappiness in an age where everything seemed to be set for the happiness of the individual. A sense of responsibility towards society characterises these young writers. They sought to utilise their poetry as a propaganda weapon to refashion the outer world, the material world of factories with the ugly conditions they imposed on life and the world of economic crises which left so many destitute.

And here we note an important difference between the Auden group and Yeats. Yeats had grown up towards the end of the nineteenth century which was still an age of individualism. Therefore, when he went in search of positive values and meaning in the external world of public affairs, he ultimately found them in a personal myth. Whereas Yeats had turned inwards in his search, the young poets of the 'thirties turned outwards. The chaos and disorder they experienced were too universal to allow for a private solution. This they found in Marx's materialist view of history. « Dialectic Materialism » offered a simple explanation for a diversity of things : the movement of history, the development of the family, the ideals of romantic love, the conflicts of bourgeois family life, the neuroses of the middle class and the position of the proletariat in society. All this appeared in the form of an objective interpretation of the human world, creating order and meaning where before there had been disintegration and hollowness. Marxism supplied the Auden group with a set of values for which the Eliot generation had had to go to the past.

These enthusiastic young writers, provided with an unlimi-



ted faith in their abilities and stored energy, accepted the external world at its face value: chaos, wars, revolutions, economic crises, along with the poverty and misery of modern life. And they presented these subjects in their poetry from a fresh angle.

Society is a living theme in their works and the individual is seen primarily in his relationship to society. He becomes first and foremost a social creature, the « horizontal man », as Auden calls him, in contrast with the « vertical man ». This particular preoccupation with society in its different aspects and with the individual as a social and not a private creature is apparent in Auden's poems and plays written in the 'thirties. Here his approach is quite different from that of the lonely Eliot generation. A comparison between *The Dog Beneath the Skin*, written in collaboration with C. Isherwood, and Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* will bring out the essential difference between the two generations. The theme of both these plays is war, suffering and the frustration of human beings. Typical of his generation, Eliot tackles the subject psychologically. Although he has a clear view of Thomas a Beckett's position in society, he concentrates on the private individual and his private problem ; he deals with the inward conflict of a Beckett living through a period of unrest and with the internal struggle which takes place between the passions and self-discipline. In *The Dog Beneath the Skin* the theme is handled from the point of view of the relationship between social responsibility and individual freedom. The fast bond between the individual and society forms the centre of this and Auden's other works written in the 'thirties. This play ends with a final emphasis on such a link : « To each his need ; from each his power ». Eliot, on the other hand, regards society as a hindrance to the individual. This is likewise the attitude of D.H. Lawrence who sees society weighing down on the individual until he is no longer able to act and develop naturally, while Yeats is the one member of his generation who accepts the conflicts and struggles, the blooshed and the frustration, all as part of a glorious pattern. The Auden group also sees them as part of a harmonious whole, and demands that we do not try to escape from society and its problems. We should take life in both our hands and act for we are the tools of history; we should



fight and struggle to change the society which is causing the frustration of the individual and establish a new society to help him live a fuller life. These poets are continuing the message of Bernard Shaw.

Their interpretation of society is more comprehensive than that of their predecessors. They feel that a picture of society which does not take into account industrialism and the life and thought of the working class is incomplete. They know that equally incomplete is a picture which fails to show those in control of the working class. Therefore, they set out to write of the decaying world of unemployment, rotting industry and agriculture :

I see barns falling, fences broken,  
Pasture not ploughland, weeds not wheat.  
The great houses remain but only half are inhabited,  
Dusty the gun-rooms and the stable clocks stationary. (1)

The individual worker is unemployed, poor, hungry and lives a life of emptiness :

Moving through the silent crowd  
Who stand behind dull cigarettes  
The men who idle in the road  
I have the sense of falling light ;  
They lounge at corners of the street  
And greet friends with a shrug of shoulder  
And turn their empty pockets out.  
The cynical gestures of the poor ;  
Now they've no work, like better men  
Who sit at desks and take much pay  
They sleep long nights and rise at ten  
To watch the hours that drain away.

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(1) *The Dog Beneath the Skin.*



I'm jealous of the weeping hours  
 They stare through with such hungry eyes  
 I'm haunted by their images,  
 I'm haunted by their emptiness. (1)

This is the same world which Eliot saw, but here the resemblance ends. The tone in Spender's poem is sympathetic rather than cynical and he does not draw the grand figure of Eliot watching from above with a cynical smile the little dolls below moving to their doom. Spender, along with the other members of the group, approaches the present with a more practical purpose than Eliot's; his aim is to change it. He and his group look towards the future and by so doing apply to their poetry Edward Upward's theory of the novel and how it ought to portray life:

If a novel were to be written describing with complete faithfulness the surface of life in England to-day, the slums, the luxury, the power of the capitalist minority, the political ignorance of the exploited majority — such a novel would be untrue to life. It would show only one side of the picture, and not the most important side; it would be pessimistic, would represent militant socialism as a comparatively insignificant movement having not more than a few thousand adherents: it would distort the future and misrepresent the past. (2)

The faith of the Auden group in the future was based mainly on Marx's interpretation of history which provided it with a pattern for an apparently chaotic world. The incoherent present became merely a phase in the embracing process of history. According to Marx and to these poets, the movement of history is forward; there can be no return to the past, as Eliot and his generation suggest. The isolated individual who tries to cut himself off from history and society is doomed to failure; for the

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- (1) Stephen Spender, from *Poems*  
 (2) As quoted by Philip Henderson in *The Poet and Society*



worth of the individual lies primarily in his capacity as a member of society and history. Auden gives expression to this belief when he says :

Do not imagine you can abdicate,

Before you reach the frontier, you are caught. (1)  
and

All sway forward on the dangerous flood

Of history, that never sleeps or dies. (2)

These poets, unlike their predecessors, were suspicious of the past. They regarded the inability to catch up with our times and the falling back into a time no longer ours as the cause of the misery and disorder of the present :

Man is changed by his living ; but not fast enough.

His concern to-day is for that which yesterday did not occur.

In the hour of the Blue Bird and the Bristol Bomber,  
his thoughts are appropriate to the years of the

Penny Farthing (3)

The urgent call to modern man is, therefore, « alter your life ». The message of the Auden group is action :

I say, stamping the word with emphasis,

Drink from here energy and only energy

As from the electric charge of a battery,

To will this Time's change. (4)

Now is the «time for the destruction of error»; «it is time

(1) From *Poems*

(2) From *Look Stranger*

(3) *The Dog Beneath the Skin*

(4) Stephen Spender, *Poems*



for some new coinage people have got so old ».

Need I remind you (says Auden) we're not living in Ancient Egypt ? Time's getting on and I must hurry or I'll miss the train. You've got some pretty difficult changes to make. We simply can't afford any passengers or skirmishers. I would like to see you make a beginning before I go, Now, Here. (1)

The address is made to the worker, the man who has suffered most from the existing economic system, who has least reason to be attached to anything out of the past, and in whose hands, according to Marx, the future lies. The proletariat is urged to rise and give the death blow to capitalism and by so doing establish an economic system based on order and justice :

Hands off ! The dykes are down.  
There is no time for play.  
Hammer is poised and sickle  
Sharpened. I cannot stay. (2)

Suddenly the hopes of these young writers take concrete shape with the outbreak of the Spanish civil war:

On that arid square, that fragment nipped off from  
Africa, soldered so crudely to inventive Europe,  
On that tableland scored by rivers,  
Our thoughts have bodies. (3)

Now the forces of reaction and those of the future come into conflict as the armies of the generals and the republic face one another on the battle field. The enthusiasm of the young English writers was so great that some of them took up arms and died in the fight. Ralph Fox, John Cornford, Julian Bell and

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(1) *The Orators.*

(2) Day Lewis, *The Magnectic Mountain*

(3) W.H. Auden, *Spain*



Christopher Caudwell are a few who expressed, in action, a mood which had become widespread among their contemporaries. The Spanish war was the culmination of their hopes :

To-morrow, perhaps the future...

to-day the struggle

To-day the inevitable increase in the chances of death. (1)

The Republican armies, however, were defeated ; and the faith of the Auden group in the future dwindled. They gradually began to realise that their propagandist poetry which they had hoped would heal the « waste land » had proved a failure. Spender says that the fault with these poets lies in the fact that politics had become so much of an obsession with them, that it had taken on the form of an end in itself rather than a means to a non-political goal. Politics came before poetry with them ; and they treated political subjects not poetically but politically. They were turned too much outwards and their poetry was dependent on external events, more than was healthy for it. Spender says :

To invoke action in poetry is insufficient, for it puts poetry at the mercy of something outside poetry, which has to happen in order that the poem may be fulfilled.

The final conclusion at which Spender arrives is that

Poetry cannot take sides except with life, nor can one dictate to poets their subject matter.

Thus the Auden group failed where Yeats succeeded. Unlike Yeats they failed to adjust themselves satisfactorily to their world. Their ready-made solution which they accepted as a basis for their faith in life and society had not been sufficiently absorbed to stand them in good stead at the hour of their gravest need, that is at the defeat of the Republicans in Spain and the final out-

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(1) *Spain*



break of war in 1939. After this they tended to turn their backs on reality, each escaping from the world of public affairs in his own different way. The private world of the individual which they had rejected in the 'thirties began to take a more prominent place in their poetry ; and so, in a way, they ended up by joining the Eliot generation of lonely artists. Yeats alone remains the one poet of the twentieth century who, not only ended as the poet of life despite its uglier aspects, but whose poetry took on a healthy universality denied to that of the other poets of the first part of the century.

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## LORD ACTON'S MORALITY: THEORY & PRACTICE<sup>1</sup>

by

Dr. JAMES J. AUCHMUTY

To the modern recrudescence of interest in the life and works of Sir John Emerich Dalberg, first Lord Acton I have but slight, though in my opinion important, contribution to make. It has been said that his projected *History of Liberty* on which he spent a life time of research and for which he left so many thousands of notes, is the greatest book that ever was written; and it is no mere coincidence that no successful biography of this character so extraordinary on the English historical scene has ever been attempted. That has not prevented many modern historiographers from finding support for their theories by seizing on isolated statements and disjointed phrases in his writings. But the time must come when a serious attempt is made to produce a definitive estimate of Acton's life, influence and historical thought, and for that reason I have chosen to concern myself with one small aspect of his life and activities for the examination of which I had special opportunities.

The customary accounts of Acton's life and work devote but a few lines to his early political career as a member of parliament for the Irish borough of Carlow between 1859 and 1865 and to his subsequent election, only to be unseated for bribery, for the English borough of Bridgnorth in 1865. Even Archbishop

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(1). A PAPER READ TO THE IXth. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES



Mathew's volume *ACTON: THE FORMATIVE YEARS*, (2) the first in a projected full length biography, makes but the barest reference to the parliamentary career though a diffuse chapter of some nine pages has for its title «The House of Commons». (3) It has always seemed to me a man must be judged by his actions as well as by thoughts and while Dr. Mathew is superb etcher in of background the succesful biographer of Acton will have to concern himself not only with writings and environment but with the evolving pratical character of the man himself in so far as it can be caught at this late stage. Porfessor Butterfield in his Historical Association pamphlet *LORD ACTON* (4) emphasis the point that Acton's later historical work seems to have been affected by some emotional failure in his personal life and his private papers give us a glimpse of a profound unhappiness. Professor Butterfield also stresses, with so many others icluding especially Dr. Mathew, (5) the profound influence exerices by Burke on Acton's political thinking while at the same showing how this influence developed and altered during Acton's career. As against this the American historian Dr. Gertrude Himmelfarb contends that the influence of Burke on Acton has been much over estimated. However it is important from my point of view that she does admit that in his very early years Acton was a faithful disciple of the Anglo-Irish political thinker and che shows that during the period when Acton edited the *RAMBLER*, 1859-1862, he did hold a philosophy consciously indebted to Burke. Supporting a moderate and well ordered liberty he exalted the constitution and the law above reason and deplored the « abstract, ideal absolutism of the modern temper. » 6 That his private papers record judgements of Burke

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(2). David Mathew — *ACTON : THE FORMATIVE YEARS*. LONDON : 1946.

(3). *Ibid.* pp. 131 - 140.

(4). H. Butterfield — *LORD ACTON*, Historical Association Pamphlet G. 9, London : 1948.

(5). Mathew *op. cit.* p. 5. « Edmund Burke was the one teacher Acton came to early and never left ».

(6). Gertrude Himmelfarb — *THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN THE POLITICAL THEORY OF LORD ACTON*. In the *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. XXI, pp. 293-312, Chicago 1949.



which conflict with his public statements, and that in the last twenty five years of his life he increasingly hardened against Burke's policy of balance and compromise present problems still to be dealt with.

For my part I am concerned in this paper with two things. In the first place it is uniformly accepted that the early Acton was a disciple of Burke and that that discipleship had been stressed rather than undermined by the continental stay as a pupil of Dollinger. In the second place all judgements on Acton stress not merely his historical but his moral influence. In the *DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY* he is described as « Historian and Moralist »; 7 Herman Finer in a high-sounding but unbalanced introduction to Miss Himmelfarb's excellent edition of Acton's Essays 8 asks the rhetorical question : « To what is the perennial appeal of Acton due ? » and answers : « Above all to Acton's moral integrity. » 9 He asserts that, pre-eminently, Acton was a man of conscience, and quotes with approval Acton's own assertion that « the inflexible integrity of the moral code is... the secret of the authority, the dignity, the utility of History. » Professor Finer's preface re-echoes the commonly held opinions and is but distantly related to the scholarly introduction in which Miss Himmelfarb shows how unsystematic and contradictory are the different strands in Acton's thought and how essential it is for some one to apply himself to the conscious effort of disentangling.

(7). Article by Acton's pupil J.N. Figgis, editor of his collected works.

(8). Acton — *ESSAYS ON FREEDOM AND POWER*, selected with an introduction by Gertrude Himmelfarb. Boston, 1948.

(9). *Ibid* p.p. VII — XII.



The disentangling must we think be attempted not only in the field of Acton's thought but also in that of his practical life. No man set out a higher ideal than did Burke regarding the duties of a representative elected to parliament. « It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondance and the most unreserved communication with his constituents 10 ..... But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgement, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or any set of men living. » 11 The famous addresses to the electors of Bristol cannot have been unknown to the historian who asserted a permanent moral standard and refused to make allowance for the climate of public opinion in any given era.

Accordingly when Acton was elected to parliament he knew where his duty lay, he was proud of his new position in society, 12 he held a sufficient knowledge at least of international affairs and of the problems of his co-religionists to cut some figure in the House. Yet all the commentators, friendly and unfriendly alike, agree that as a politician he was a complete failure. But he was much more than a failure. Failure betokens incapacity, and no one questions Acton's abilities had he used them. But he never even tried to be a success, and it is this lack of all feeling of responsibility to his constituents, this selfish appreciation of membership of the House of Commons as a step in the social ladder which makes us feel that Acton's political career has never been sufficiently closely examined nor its moral implications sufficiently condemned.

The exact circumstances of Acton's election for the borough of Carlow I have already described in detail in a paper published

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(10) *THE SPEECHES OF THE RT. HON. EDMUND BURKE*, ed. by J. Burke, 1865 ed. Dublin p. 129

(11) *Ibid* p. 150.

(12). Mathew — *op. cit.* p. 146. Letter of Earl Granville to Lord Can-  
ning.



in the *English Historical Review*. 13 Here it is only necessary to recapitulate the main facts. Although only 25 at the time of his election in 1859 Acton had already been looking round for a seat in the House of Commons during the previous four years, and despite his own confession that he could not wholeheartedly support either of the dominant British parties approaches had been made to several constituencies. The Borough of Carlow for its part was equally on the look out for a liberal candidate and only came to terms with the representatives of Sir John Acton after other starters had been found wanting — usually in a financial sense. Sir John was nominated without a programme, issued no election address and was elected sight unseen, defeating the sitting member, a prominent local landlord but a conservative, in the process. A month later the new member paid his one and only visit to the constituency which had honoured him with its confidence and addressed his principal supporters at a victory banquet without committing himself to a detailed party programme.

If men truly value lightly what has been obtained with ease Acton certainly put a low value on his representation of the burgesses of Carlow. In a further paper 14 I have analysed carefully his contributions to the work of the House of Commons and his activities on behalf of his electors during his parliamentary career 1859-1865, and if his election was undeserved even his principal Carlow supporter, the Rev. James Maher P.P. was aware of the fact by the time the next election day arrived. When one considers the riots and destruction which marked the original contest, the blood which flowed in the aftermath, and the passions which were aroused Acton remained strangely impervious to it all, and for all the thanks the people of Carlow obtained they might as well have elected a stranger from Stockholm as the local paper put it.

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(13). James J. Auchmuty — *ACTON'S ELECTION AS AN IRISH MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT*, *E.H.R.* Sept. 1946 pp. 394-405.

(14). James J. Auchmuty — *ACTON IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS*, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University*. Vol. V. 1949 pp. 31-46.



In six years Acton asked two questions and answered one, made no speeches, was a very unsatisfactory attender at debates, even in those few but important division lists which are recorded his name only appears in 27 out of 48, that is on just over half the major occasions; and what is more serious he made no effort to keep in contact with his constituency. Not only did he never visit it, he practically never subscribed to local charities and he was most inhospitable, at any rate by Irish standards, to any Carlow callers in London. Worse still in political matters in which his constituents were interested he was not reliable and he sat so much on the fence that in at least on case he voted on opposite sides in successive divisions and then absented himself from the key vote. Even in the private work of the House he was a failure. Appointed to three parliamentary committees at none was he a more than adequate attender and in none does he appear to have exercised a really effective influence.

Religiously also he was a disappointment to Irish Roman Catholics. Catholic emancipation though carried by the Tories had been traditionally a Whig measure; yet these same Whigs were the clamorous heirs of the Glorious Revolution and the establishers of the protestant succession. At all times minority groups had been attracted to their banner but the conscientious Roman Catholic, at a time when religious questions still aroused persistent excitement, had grave difficulties in giving full allegiance to either party. It was the Whigs under Lord John Russell who had been responsible for the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1850, denying to Roman Catholic prelates territorial titles; but the conservative opposition were in Ireland allied with the extreme Orange and protestant interest. Acton's representation of Carlow came at the time of the Franco-Austrian war when Pius IX was establishing himself at the principal and forceful enemy of Italian unity and nationality, and when an Irish Brigade went out to defend the Papal city against the democratic national will of the Italian people. Acton had no love for the temporal power of the papacy. Announced to speak in Dublin in its support he failed to turn up; expected to criticize in parliament known government sympathy with Italian unity he remained silent. When Burke differed from the electors of Bristol he broadcast his defence to the world; when the time came for re-election he faced



the voters with courage; proudly stated his case, defended his actions and laid himself at their mercy. The Carlow people assailed Acton not on points of principle but as stepson of the Lord President of the Council, Earl Granville, as seduced by the glared Acton not on points of principle but as stepson of the Lord John Russell. A brave man would have spoken out ; a cunning politician would have befogged the issue. Acton did neither — he ran away! When the dissolution of parliament came in 1865 he uttered no word of thanks to his constituents, made no last minute promise of amendment and repentance ; he left them as if he had never known them, as if they had no reciprocal duties one to the other. It is true that he found another constituency, his own family town of Bridgnorth, but only at a late date, and then, after election, he had the mortification of being unseated for bribery on the part one of his supporters though «without knowledge or concert of the said Sir John E.D. Acton or his agents». His admitted expenses at his election amounted to more than those of both of his opponents combined but unfortunately it has not been possible to trace the expenses of the Carlow election. In 1869 he was raised to the peerage on the recommendation of his friend Gladstone and thereafter had no further opportunity of experiencing the expensive luxury of election or defeat.

If in parliament Acton had felt himself out of touch with his constituents we reiterate that there was no reason why he could not have established a position of his own representing perhaps his co-religionists of the Roman Catholic faith, or an international point of view the result of his cosmopolitan background. During his years in the House as editor or contributor to the RAMBLER and the HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW he wrote some 475 pages of articles and 77 pages of current events, the latter entirely and the former to a considerable extent concerned with the subject of foreign affairs. 15 Yet in the House of Commons he never intervened in a Foreign Affairs debate and the interests of his co-religionists he left in the hands of Lord E. Howard and Sir George Bowyer, while those of the

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(15) *F.E. Lally — AS LORD ACTON SAYS, Newport U.S.A. 1942. p. 50*



burgesses of Carlow were taken care of by the country members who also supported those local charities, regattas, sports meetings and the like which Acton refused to patronize.

It is not our claim that members equally as irresponsible as Acton could not be found. His Carlow predecessor, Alexander, had never addressed the House of Commons but he had kept in close touch with his constituents. What we do assert is that his standard of performance was a long way below the common average. He entered the House with every opportunity for high success ; through his step father in close touch with the great Whig dynasties, by religion member of a group fast re-establishing itself in society, with personal and mental gifts of the highest order ; he seems to have lacked some inner compulsion to carry out his duties in co-operation with his fellow citizens. Mentally he always felt himself out of touch with his age ; but in his own view morality was timeless. His lack of responsibility either to his constituents, or to his co-religionists, or to the nation as a whole betokens some missing strand in his normal make-up. If he were ashamed of the methods of his election the man of high principle might have resigned ; if he felt himself unsuited to the day to day contacts of the House of Commons there were various honourable means of escape ; but worst of all was to accept an honour, achieve responsibility, and experience no reciprocal obligations.

Every time one examines Acton's assessment of the life or activities of any human being his own personal failings must ever be kept in mind. We know that in some respects he was a hard worker and as well, as a reviewer, a hanging judge ; but there were situations in which he wished for the prize without the burden and heat of the day. He was ambitious of political success then and later, but he refused the hard work such success entails ; he was desirous of composing a great work but he feared that criticism which he ignored in political life. It is our contention that any discussion of Acton's political morality must be firmly grounded in the examination of his own political experience.

*James J. Auchmuty,*  
*Member of the Royal Irish Academy.*



## POST - GRADUATE COURSE

# LATE EGYPTIAN

BY

ABD EL-MOHSEN BAKIR

B. Litt., D. Phil. (Oxon)

## OPENING LECTURE

(Monday, 14th January 1952)

## HOW THE STUDY OF LATE EGYPTIAN SHOULD BE MADE

Under most unfortunate conditions during the last war, I was compelled to return to Egypt, and to complete my work on *Egyptian Epistolography* from the XVIIIth to the XXIst Dynasties with Dr. Černý, now Professor of Egyptology at Oxford University. At that time, we had only Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* to refer whenever any grammatical difficulty arose, and Erman's book was not always helpful in this direction, some points in Grammar needed rearrangement and discussion in the light of new discoveries. As such was the case, Dr. Černý suggested that it might be a good idea if he started a series of lectures for me, and that Mr. Fairman, now Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool University, and Mr. Gredsløff should join in. Dr. Černý intended to publish his new study of Late Egyptian which I sincerely hope will appear in the near future. In addition to these lectures we



studied 'The Egyptian Vocalisation from Native Sources, i.e. Coptic with the idea that it may serve as a background for a better understanding of Late Egyptian.

That is, in brief, the story of my study of Late Egyptian. It shows how this study should be made. Parallels with Coptic will be given. Published and unpublished texts will be read, and from these you will be asked to draw your own conclusions, and indicate the peculiarities of the style of Late Egyptian. I must point out that the grammar of Middle Egyptian should be thoroughly digested.

## STAGES OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE

Philologists concern themselves, among other things, with the study of the forms and constructions of any given language in relation to certain periods. This procedure has been successfully followed in the analysis of modern languages, as when we read that scholars distinguish, between *l'ancien français*, of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and *le français moderne*, of the XIXth and XXth centuries. The French language, philologists tell us, shows clearly in these two distinct periods the characteristics of the political and social structures of France.

This same fact is true of the Ancient Egyptian Language, which may also be classified into distinct periods, each reflecting with the same intensity the ups and downs of Egyptian history. But this is a subject in which we have to proceed with caution, because our only evidence of the Egyptian Language comes from written documents and is subject to the results of Excavations. With this idea in mind, we may say that Grammarians have been able to classify the Ancient Egyptian Language into distinct periods which are now known as follows: (1)

(A) The «Old Egyptian» as shown in the Pyramid Texts and a few other formal inscriptions dated to the first eight Dynasties, from 3180 to 2240 B. C. .

(B) The «Middle Egyptian» of Dynasties IX to XI, from 2240 to 1990 B.C., is known as the classical language, and has been regarded as the literary language down to the Græco-Roman periods.

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1) Compare Gard., *Grammar*, § 4.



(C) « Late Egyptian » which is the language of Dynasties XVII. to XXIV (1573 to 715 B.C.). Various foreign words make their appearance.


(D) « Demotic », properly a kind of writing, but also loosely applied to the language in which such documents were written. It was used from Dyn. XXV to late Roman period (715 B.C. to 470 A.D.). Classical and later elements are intermingled.

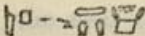
(E) « Coptic », which represents a far later stage of the Egyptian Language that of the IIIrd century A.D. and afterwards, was written in Greek characters with the addition of seven modified characters from Egyptian. It contains Greek words and sometimes follows the word order used in Greek sentences. It gradually fell into disuse after the Arab Conquest of Egypt in 460 A.D..

### WRITTEN AND SPOKEN LANGUAGES ARE DIVERGENT

It is now desirable to investigate the main linguistic forms and characteristics underlying such classification. For the time being, I shall omit the discussion on Demotic or Coptic, as these are out of the subject under consideration.

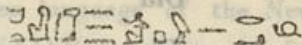
Written language and spoken language are usually divergent, though they emanate from one source. By virtue of some kind of standing tradition, the first would retain fixed grammatical rules and special modes of expression throughout the ages which would look back for the crystallised ancient mode as displaying genuine Egyptian forms. This is the reason for the revival of the Old Classical language as late as the Demotic Period, as well as its retainment in religious texts. The spoken language, on the other hand, is that of the people and soon absorbs new words. It develops its own simple and fluent forms which become at last quite distinct from the written language.

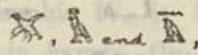
A characteristic of the vernacular language is a tendency to slur over grammatical niceties, such as gender and number. Apparently, there are some sporadic examples of this vernacular language in the Pyramid texts, such as the use of  (sometimes *pi*), originally masculine singular, for referring to both masculine or feminine words, singular or plural:

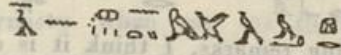
e. g. (Pyr. § 133)  It is his offerings.

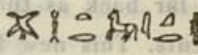


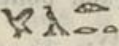
This could also be traced in the Middle Kingdom texts:



e.g. (*Pap. West.* ix, 9)  She is the wife of the priest of Re<sup>c</sup>.

Similarly, the words , originally demonstratives for «this» (m.), «this» (f.) and «these» (pl.), have come to be used as the definite article «the», usually prefixed to a noun:

e. g. (*Peasant*, R. 4)  The corn which is in the storehouse.

(*Paheri*, pl. 3) Stand still, be not disobedient  excellent horse.

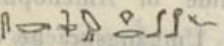
In Late Egyptian may also precede the classical feminine infinitive, such as: (*Turin 73*, 11, 9)  p; <sup>2</sup>ir (t) the doing. It is possible that, in Late Egyptian, this is due to the fact that weak consonant *t* had dropped out in the vernacular pronunciation, which is clear in the Coptic equivalent.

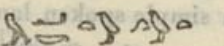
With regard to the construction of nominal sentences, in particular those introduced by such particles as *mk*, *sk*, <sup>1</sup>*ist* and having a pronominal subject (  ) and predicate (  ) composed of either:

preposition + 

{	noun
	or
	infinitive

 or, an old perfective


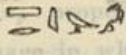

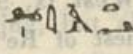

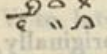

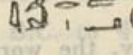

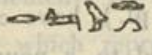
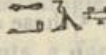
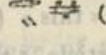




e.g.  When he was still on his feet.

 Behold, thou art come.

However, Late Egyptian seems not only to omit the particles in such constructions, and sometimes even the preposition before the infinitive, but also we get what is known as the «personal compounds»: *tw.i* (<sup>2</sup>*hr*) *sdm* for the older <sup>1</sup>*ist wi hr sdm*.

We also notice the substitution of many new words and forms for old ones:



e.g.				
Old	New	Old	New	
				side
				with (Coptic: MN)
				here (Coptic: Tai)
				by

From the foregoing remarks, I think it is clear that there existed two forms of the Egyptian Language; traces of one of which appear as far back as the Old Kingdom, but finally superseded in later documents. This new form of the language apparently made its appearance in written documents following social upheavals and revolutions. The revolution known to us are those following the break up of the Old Kingdom (1), and the religious and political revolution of Akhenaten near the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

### DEFINITION OF LATE EGYPTIAN

The first to recognise the existence of these two forms of the language and who separated the spoken tongue from the other groups was Professor Adolf Erman in 1880 in his first edition of *Neuägyptische Grammatik* where, on p. 1. he defines it as the colloquial language «Vulgärsprache» of the New Empire which we read since the beginning of that period, but of which we have not abundant written material until the XIXth and XXth Dynasties. In his second edition of the same book, published in 1933, Erman states on p. 2 that the Egyptian is used as a literary language from the time of Amenophis IV. Sethe, in 1933, calls it «the spoken language» Umgangssprache of the New Empire of Thebes (2) and describes it as a simple spoken language raised to the status of a literary language. More recently, Gardiner, in 1950, states that «Late Egyptian, the vernacular of Dynasties XVIII-XXIV, is exhibited chiefly in business documents and letters, but also in stories and other literary compositions, and to some extent also in the official monuments from Dyn. XIX onwards». (3)




(1) It is referred to in Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian sage*.  
 (2) Cf. *ZDMG* 79, p. 304.  
 (3) See *Egyptian Grammar* § 4.

















From the afore-mentioned definitions we may conclude that Late Egyptian was the spoken language of the New Empire from the time of the XVIIIth to the XXIVth Dynasties. Its first regular appearance as a written language occurred towards the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty. During the reign of Amenophis IV, it became the literary language, and was even introduced in hymns. Our most abundant source comes from the XIXth and XXth Dynasties in non literary and literary documents, and the latter gradually diminished after the XXIst Dynasty until the XXIVth Dynasty when we see them written in Demotic (another field outside our present study). However, I wish to stress this point from the beginning that Late Egyptian is *not* a development of the older stages of the language, but is a distinct form, or as Sethe says «it is a sister and not a daughter language». <sup>(1)</sup>







### CHARACTERISTICS IN WRITING

As a written language, Late Egyptian shows peculiarities of *Orthography* (i.e. spelling) which is thoroughly discussed in *Neuägyptisch Grammatik* (2nd ed.) §§ 8 — 58. Nevertheless, I wish to mention some points, as for details I refer you to the book.




(a) *Group-writing* (§§ 29 — 31): From Dyn. XVIII onwards biliteral signs ending with , , or  are frequently substituted for alphabetic signs; <sup>(2)</sup>




e. g.    (š); for   (sw, sy); for   (š),  (š),  (š), for   (š).




On the other hand, we find two alphabetic signs (the second being also ,  or ) representing a single sign — the first in the group;

e. g. for   (š); for   (š); for   (š).

Thus:

   is to be read *bnr*, not *bunwr* (Coptic ⲃⲟⲗ outwards

   is to be read *gbgbt* to fell.

   is to be read *hrr* flower.

(1) Cf. ZDMG 79, p. 301.

(2) These endings may stand for a sound, and that when we transliterate 'bnr' (see examples below) we merely bring it into line with Middle Egyptian.



(b) *Writing of Vowels* (§§ 32 — 38): In Late Egyptian they may stand for  $\bar{i}$  —

e.g. who (Coptic NIM); Sidon (Hebrew שִׁדּוֹן);

father (Coptic EWR); his (Coptic NRY).

$e$ , which has become the unaccented  $e$ , could stand for  $o$  which we come across in such group-writings as:

(An. iv, 12, 2) lyre (Hebrew לַיִת)

a place-name (Coptic NAF)

(c) *Space-fillers* (§§ 28 & 43): The spaces over little (or small) determinatives etc. are frequently filled with meaningless " "

e.g. (Amarna II, 15) ; (Amarna II, 71) ;

(Harris 500, II, 11) ; (Amarna III, 10) .

(d) *Determinatives* (§§ 25—27): Late Egyptian uses freely the determinatives especially those which have general indications, as: , , .

Old	New	Old	New

only and that remain without determinatives. Sometimes more than one determinative is appended especially , .

e.g. (Pap. d'Orb.) plunder, rob.


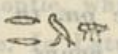
(Max. d'Anii 4, 17) take care of; manage

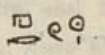

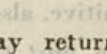
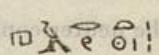
Plural strokes may again be added to these general determinatives, irrespective of number—e.g. (Max. d'Anii 4, 2) and *ibid* 2, 5 .

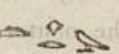
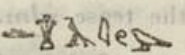
(e) *Pronunciation* (§ 44 ff): Here I am limiting my reference to the pronunciation of  $r$  as an *initial* letter of a word, a *medial* or a *terminal*; for other letters I refer you to Erman's book.

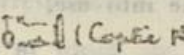
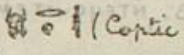
As *initial* it has become short  $e$ , as we see in the preposition with

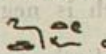
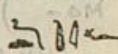




its corresponding pronunciation  - two *r*'s may begin a word, as in  weap; this means that the *r* must be accented (Coptic *PIME*).

As *medial*, it disappears as Coptic shows; e.g.  (Coptic *2007*) - compare later variants (*Wenamun* 1 x + 15)  or (*passim* + 16) . However, this *r* may return when the word is in the plural: (*Wenamun* 1 x + 21)  to be compared with Coptic *2Per*.

As final, the *r* has become *i*, e.g.  «bitter» appears in Late Egyptian . Coptic points to this phenomenon, as in the well known examples.

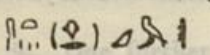
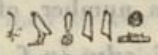
 (Coptic *roqe*) and  (Coptic *uone*).

Another characteristic in pronunciation which I must draw your attention to is in, for example, (*Pap. d'orb.*) where we see  and  for simple Form . The reason is that the final *d* and *t* are almost identical in pronunciation thus we get such pronunciation as \**dodtf* which sounds like \**dotf* or *dodf* .

## GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In addition to the afore-mentioned characteristics of Late Egyptian, there are other differences between it and the earlier language. These are:

(1) The use of adverbial nominal sentences (Coptic, first present) without introductory particle, as in:

 They are (on) hearing = They hear  
(*Urk. iv.* 649, 15)  It is like what? What is it like?

To this belong the so-called «Pronominal Compounds» prefixed with *tw*.<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) Cf. p. 4 for this construction.



(2) The new suffix 3rd person plural *.w* for the old *.sn*.  
 (3) The change of the form of the demonstrative *pn*, *tn* and *nn* into *pꜥy*, and *nꜥy* respectively which precede their nouns.

(4) The derivation of the indefinite article from the word for one *ⲁⲛⲓ* (*ann*).

(5) The construction of the numerals from 10 onwards with a following genitive, also the singular treatment of all numeral expressions.— e.g. *pꜥ 20 n rmt* the 20 of man = 20 men.

(6) The neuter conception, or more properly the personification of an abstract once treated as a feminine word is now treated as masculine e.g. (*Wenamun IX + 10*) *ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ* he said *it* where the suffix *.f* is used to express the neuter.

(7) The disappearance of the tense *sdm.n.f*.

(8) The conjunctive form *mtw.f (hr) sdm* and he hears (Coptic: S. *ⲛⲩⲉⲩⲱⲧⲙ* - B. *ⲛⲩⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲙ*) has come into use.

(9) The paraphrase of the old optative *sdm.k* by *imi* (Coptic *ⲙⲁⲓ*) which is negated by *m rdꜥ* followed by *sdm.f* form.

(10) The elimination of *hr* before the infinitive especially in the pseudo-verbal construction: *twꜥ sdm* instead of *twꜥ hr sdm* — also the frequent omission of *r* in the following expressions *r-dr.f* (Coptic *ⲧⲙⲣⲟ*) e.g. (*Pap. d'Orb. 15. 4*) *ⲧⲙⲣⲟ ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ* or *r hꜥt* = before (Coptic *ⲉⲛⲧⲙⲣⲟ*).

(11) The negative words *ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛⲓ* (Coptic *ⲛⲩⲉⲩⲱⲧⲉⲙ*), etc.

This leads us to the subject of the VERB which I should like to analyse more fully. Indeed, it was the main subject of our study under Professor Černý.

The classical language contains a number of simple forms: *sdm* (imperfective and perfective), *sdm.n.f*, *sdm.in.f*, *sdm.hr.f*, *sdm.kꜥ.f*, *s dmm.f* all with their passive forms, and the special passive form *s dmtw.f*, the forms *s dmt.f* and *s dmty.fy*, the old perfective, the infinitive, the four participles and finally the relative forms. Out of al<sup>1</sup>



this number, Late Egyptian retains only a few. However, it is not so poor as Coptic, which contains only two forms: the infinitive and the qualitative. In Late Egyptian, the verbal form is reduced to the form *s dm.f*, the old perfective, the imperative, the two participles (active and passive), the relative and the infinitive, vestiges here and there of the passive *sdmw.f*. What is lacking in the simple forms, Late Egyptian replaces by a paraphrase with auxiliary verbs.

For the purpose of our study, it is advisable to take one or two special texts and analyse them thoroughly. We are not lacking in material, Late Egyptian documents are plentiful and have been classed into the following groups:

(A) Judicial Texts notably those dealing with conspiracy against Ramesses III and Tomb Robberies.

(B) Correspondence and Schülerhandschriften (writings of school-boys), many of which are published by Černý, Erman and Gardiner.

(C) Literary Works, fiction, etc.

Finally, I want to draw your attention to four points:

1. It is highly desirable for the student at this stage to become well acquainted with Coptic which often confirms and explains some phenomena in Late Egyptian.

2. As I pointed out in the beginning, the student must be thoroughly familiar with Middle Kingdom grammar in order to appreciate the changes he comes across.

3. In the course of these studies any earlier construction will be referred to as « Archaism ».

4. One further word, it must be remarked that Late Egyptian was by no means confined to the lower classes. It was used by the educated people and is found written side by side with the classical tongue as in the Annals of Thutmose III. But it is not until the Amarna Period that we begin to find the rich stream of profane literature beginning to appear.



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## LE ROLE DES MUSEES

La meilleure leçon d'art se prend naturellement au Musée.

Les origines de l'art égyptien sont à chercher à la fin du quatrième millénaire avant l'ère chrétienne. En Egypte, comme ailleurs, la fin de la période néolithique ou plutôt énéolithique, fut marquée par un réveil du sens artistique assoupi depuis l'âge paléolithique. On dirait que l'imagination de l'humanité, pendant des millénaires, avait été absorbée tout entière, par les inventions nécessaires pour passer de la barbarie errante à la civilisation sédentaire.

La première floraison d'art dans la vallée du Nil eut lieu quelques siècles avant le début de la première dynastie pharaonique, qui se place vers 3300 av. J.C.

On a trouvé des vases peints et les découvertes ont montré que la fresque était déjà connue. A la cour des roitelets de ces temps préhistoriques, l'ivoire et le schiste, servirent de matière première aux premiers essais de sculpture. Les personnages en ronde bosse et les scènes en bas-reliefs sont quelquefois exécutés sur l'or.

Ce fut ainsi que le plus ancien art égyptien se forma et qu'il acquit les principes esthétiques dont il ne devait jamais se départir par la suite.

Il faut savoir que tout relèvement de la puissance monarchique entraîna dans l'Egypte ancienne une renaissance de l'art.

Le fait se produisit vers 2160, lorsqu'une dynastie de princes de la région thébaine parvint à rassembler l'Egypte entière sous son autorité. Cette seconde période d'unité a reçu des historiens le nom de Moyen Empire (2160 - 1730 av. J.C.) ou premier empire thébain, du nom de la nouvelle capitale, Thèbes.

La seconde renaissance de l'art égyptien eut lieu pendant la période du N.E. ou second empire thébain (1580-1085 av. J.C.). Elle est aux yeux de l'histoire beaucoup plus brillante que la première, parcequ'elle fut plus originale. Au début elle consista seulement en une reprise des traditions et des techniques de la XII<sup>ème</sup> dynastie, mais elle évolua vite sous la poussée des circonstances.

Au sein de la richesse et sous l'influence des contacts répétés des pays étrangers, un besoin nouveau était né, celui de l'opulence, et avec lui apparut un goût que les générations précédentes n'avaient pas ressenti au même degré, pour le joli, l'aimable et le pittoresque. L'art officiel, comme d'habitude résista d'abord aux formes, sinon à l'esprit, de la nouvelle esthétique. Il atteint son apogée sous Amenophis III.



A la mort de ce monarque, en 1370 av. J.C., Thèbes fut le théâtre de la crise fameuse provoquée par Akhenaton. Ses idées sur l'art étaient toutes personnelles et elles dérivait de sa mystique. D'après lui, la figuration humaine sous Aménophis III n'était qu'une tromperie. Il fallait pour être sincère, sculpter l'homme tel qu'il était avec ses malformations physiques.

Mais dès l'époque de la XXI<sup>ème</sup> dynastie, on ne sait ce qu'était devenue la mentalité thébaine.

Cependant sous la pression des circonstances politiques et économiques, les capitales émigrèrent vers le nord à Tanis, Bubaste, puis à Sais. L'art de la cour a subi de nouveau la sollicitation du grand art de l'époque des Pyramides.

Les trésors trouvés à Tanis, des XXI<sup>ème</sup> et XXII<sup>ème</sup> dynasties (1085-730 av. J.C.) ont montré que l'art néomémphite, généralement appelé saïte, a commencé bien avant la XXVI<sup>ème</sup> dynastie (663-525 av. J.C.), et fut porté à Sais à sa plus grande pureté. Il est l'art de ce que les historiens appellent la Basse Epoque (1085-332 av. J.C.) et qui se continua jusqu'à sous les Ptolémées et au delà sous les Romains.

L'art saïte devait subsister jusqu'à la fin de la civilisation pharaonique, en se prolongeant, sous les Ptolémées et les Romains, comme art officiel des cultes nationaux. L'art vivant était, sans doute, l'art gréco-romain. Mais cet art était tout différent de l'art égyptien traditionnel.

Les musées ont donc un rôle, très important, à jouer dans l'éducation.

S'est là que le savant dans ses études doit faire une comparaison fondée sur des bases scientifiques.

C'est là que l'étudiant, doit élargir ses connaissances en ce qui concerne l'histoire de l'art d'un peuple.

C'est là que l'artiste doit épuiser ses mérites artistiques.

C'est là que, d'après la finesse de l'exposition, le goût de l'érudit peut jouir de la beauté d'une pièce archéologique bien éclairée.

C'est là, qu'une image exacte de la civilisation est mise à la portée de chaque spectateur.

A. Abdelsalam  
Conservateur du Musée Archéologique de la Faculté des Lettres à Alexandrie





*Joli vase en poterie grèque décoré de scènes de mythologie grèque dans la forme d'une coupe. Cette coupe est exposée au Musée d'Archéologie de la Faculté des Lettres à Alexandrie.*



A la mort de ce monarque, en 1370 av. J.-C., Thèbes fut le théâtre de la crise fameuse provoquée par Akhenaton. Ses idées sur l'art étaient toutes personnelles et elles dérivait de sa mystique. D'après lui, la figuration humaine sous Aménophis III n'était qu'une tromperie. Il fallait pour être sincère exalter l'homme tel qu'il était avec ses malformations physiques.



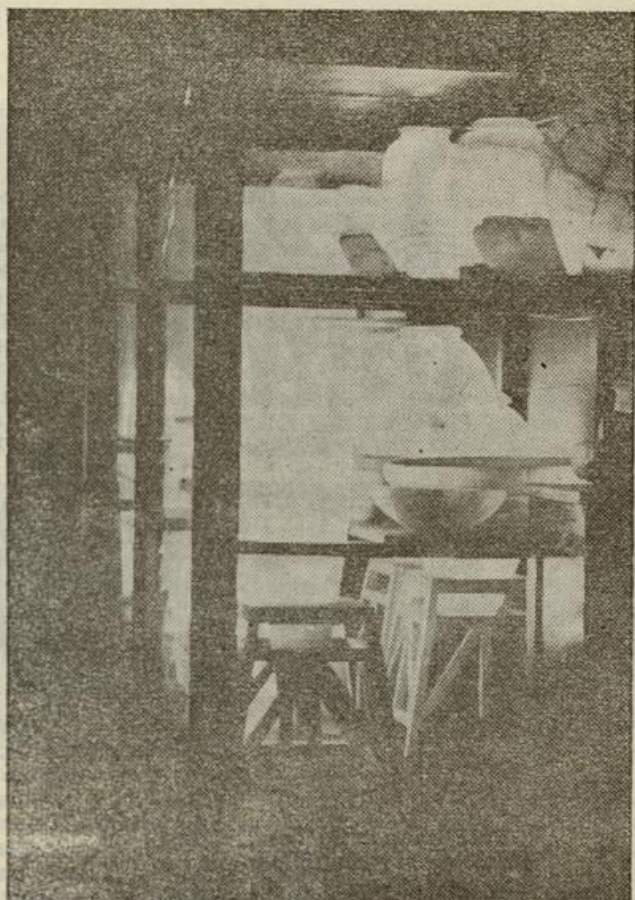
Tête de la statue en calcaire blanc d'une personne égyptienne. Elle est exposée au musée de la Faculté des Lettres à Alexandrie.

(Nouvel Empire ?)



# S. NEOPHYTOS AND THE END OF BYZANTINE RULE IN CYPRUS

BY



Vitrine dans le Musée de la Faculté contenant une collection de vases en albâtre provenant des magasins souterrains de la pyramide a degrés du roi Zoser.

(IIIe. dynastie).





Vase en poterie rose, exposé au Musée de la Faculté, portant des dessins géométriques à ses faces extérieures. Le couvercle est formé de trois quadrupèdes. (Probablement de l'époque Gréco-Romaine ?)



## S. NEOPHYTOS AND THE END OF BYZANTINE RULE IN CYPRUS

BY

O. H. E. Khs., Burmester

Few, indeed, must be the visitors to the Island of Cyprus who, in the course of their stay there, have not heard of the Monastery of S. Neophytos, for it is one of the Byzantine monastic institutions for which the Island is justly famed. Situated, as it is, in lovely mountainous surroundings, (1) at a distance of about six miles from Ktēma, the principal town of the Paphos District, this monastery can be easily reached by car, and it well repays a visit, for it is a world in itself — the world of Byzantine monasticism. If its hospitable inmates are conversant with the events of the world outside, nevertheless, their manner of life and their customs savour of bye-gone ages, and, indeed, are regulated by rules laid down by the founder of the monastery, S. Neophytos, some seven hundred and fifty years ago.

Once inside this microcosm, the visitor is filled with a sense of peace and repose — a feeling of otherworldliness, whereby, though it be but for a short time, he is relieved of the carking cares of daily life, and is thus better able to view things in their true prospective, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Moreover, if he be privileged to assist at a monastic office on a feast day, he will realise more clearly that it is through Byzantine forms of worship that the splendour of eternity breaks into the reality of to-day, and that the worshipper is borne aloft into the sphere of the invisible and the eternal.

It is of the founder of this monastery, his work, and the state of Cyprus at the time in which he lived, that the present article deals. The period in question is the twelfth century, and it is one which was fraught with danger for the Near East, for, by the beginning of this century the decline of the Byzantine Empire had definitely set in, and the West profiting by this, made an attempt to establish her supremacy over the lands washed by the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean. The final rupture between East and West in the realm of religion, in A.D. 1054, created definite hostility between the Byzantine Empire and the Latin Kingdoms, and a Crusade to recapture those lands lost by the Byzantine Empire, was instituted. This military expedition had as its original objective Egypt and Salāh ed-Dīn, but Venice the controlling spirit of the Fourth Crusade, contrived to divert it against Constantinople, for she realised that by the destruction of the Byzantine Empire she would become supreme in the commercial world.

Cyprus at this time still formed part of the Byzantine Empire, and was administered by Byzantine officials with a duke as governor who was

1) See Plate I.



appointed by Constantinople. The social and economic conditions were, however, extremely bad owing to the oppressions and extortions practised by these officials. Nicolas Mouzalón who resigned the Archiepiscopal See of Cyprus in A.D. 1110, having failed to obtain redress for the injustices committed by the said officials, states in a poem which he composed, that the inhabitants of the Island were reduced to utter misery; those who could not pay the taxes were tortured, nor were the clergy exempted, for bishops were hanged and deacons sent to the galleys. He goes on to say that he saw this lovely island like a king's daughter all glorious within this blessed island no island of the blessed, this Elysian field the home of a wretched people, girt round by streams of the sea, but oppressed within by unescapable misfortunes; its inhabitants more wretched than Tantalos (1), reaping, but eating not (oh, vain labour!), gathering grapes, but drinking not (oh, bitter toil!) (2).

It was into such conditions as these that S. Neophytos was born in the year A.D. 1134, but if these conditions were bad, yet was he to see still worse ills befall his beloved land, culminating in its final separation from the Byzantine Empire. His birth-place was Leucara which to-day is in the district of Larnaca, but at that time belonged to the district of Amathos. Amathos was the seat of a bishop down to the twelfth century, and under the dukes of Cyprus it was their official place of residence. However, by the twelfth century, this city had lost its position, owing to the growing importance of a new town, Neapolis, which was later termed Nemesos, and finally became called Lemesos, which possessed a much better road-stead for shipping.

S. Neophytos was one of eight brothers and sisters, and since his parents were poor, they were unable to give him any school education, and thus he grew up without a knowledge of reading and writing. Up to his eighteenth year S. Neophytos was employed in agricultural labour, at which time, however, his parents betrothed him to local girl, and made preparations for an early marriage. This did not, however, appeal to S. Neophytos, and he fled secretly from his parents' house to the Monastery of S. John Chrysostom which is situated on Mt. Koutsoventis in the Kyrenia mountain range, where he wished to retire from the world and to devote himself to religion. For two months his parents searched the Island for him before they discovered him in his monastic retreat. After much entreaty, he was at length persuaded to obey his parents' wishes, and he returned home with them. The desire to lead the monastic life was, however, so strong that he again managed to avoid the proposed marriage, and he then returned to the same monastery where he was admitted as a novice. Since he was unlettered, he was given work in the vineyards at a locality called « Stoupes », and these labours he performed during the next five years. During this time of probation, however, he taught himself how to read and to write, and such was his diligence and perseverance in study that he was able to commit to memory the entire Psalter. At the end of this period, he was promoted to the office of assistant sacristan (3) which he performed for the next two years.

At this time there was a growing penetration of Cyprus by the western nations, as may be seen from the grant of commercial privileges

1) Ταλάντεροι μένουσι καὶ τοῦ Ταντάλου.

2) Cf. *Sophia I. Doanidou*, 'Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος in 'Ελληνικά, VII, 1924, σσ. 267 ff.

3) Παρεκκλησιάρχης.



to the Venetians given in A.D. 1148 by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos. Shortly before A.D. 1158, that is to say, about the time when S. Neophytos became assistant sacristan, Cyprus was invaded by a certain Renaud de Châtillon, a French adventurer. The invaders defeated the forces of the then Duke of Cyprus, John Comnenos, a nephew of the Emperor Manuel, and took the Duke prisoner. They then ravaged the Island, plundering and burning towns and churches, and mutilating the inhabitants both lay and ecclesiastical. In A.D. 1158 a further disaster befell Cyprus in the shape of raids by the Egyptian fleet, in which many prisoners and booty were carried off. Among the prisoners was the brother of the Duke who, after having been well received by the wazir of Egypt, was then sent with honour to the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople.

In these troubled and uncertain times it is not surprising that men should have turned their thoughts to the peace and security of monastic life which could be secured in monasteries built in remote and secluded places in the mountains. Indeed, it is to this period that there is assigned the foundation of two famous monasteries in Cyprus, that of Chrysorrhoghastissa in A.D. 1152, and that of Macheras by S. Nilos in A.D. 1172.

The desire to lead the solitary life of an anchorite caused S. Neophytos to set out on a journey to Palestine, where he hoped to find some hermit or remote locality in which to establish himself. After a six months' search which proved fruitless, he returned to Cyprus and took up his abode again in the Monastery of S. John Chrysostom. Not long afterwards, S. Neophytos again set out on travel, and this time to go to the famous monastic centre on Mt. Latros which is not far from Miletos in south-west Asia Minor. On reaching Paphos from where he evidently intended to take ship to Asia Minor, he was arrested by the harbour guards as a fugitive slave, and cast into prison, pending an enquiry about him. Fortunately, some charitable people intervened on his behalf, and he was released, but as his passage-money consisting of two coins sewn in his clothes had been stolen from him, he was compelled to abandon his project of going to Mt. Latros. Nothing daunted, S. Neophytos set out to explore the wooded hills above Paphos for a suitable place in which to establish himself as a hermit.

On June 24th, A.D. 1159, S. Neophytos found a cave in a hill-side at a distance of about six miles from Ktéma, and decided that the locality would meet with his requirement. This cave which had hitherto been, as he terms it, the resting-place of birds (1) he found particularly suitable for his love of quietness (2), and he set about at once excavating it and enlarging it. This done, he hewed out of the rock a tomb for himself against the day of his death, and he also constructed an altar which he dedicated to the Holy Cross, since it was completed on September 14th. of the following year. This retreat S. Neophytos called the New Sion, though, afterwards, it became more generally known by the name Enkleistra, that is to say, the Enclosed (3). There is only one recorded instance of S. Neophytos having left this retreat, and this was in the year A.D. 1164, when he set out in quest of a piece of the True Cross.

The fame of the sanctity of S. Neophytos soon spread, and in the year A.D. 1166, he was persuaded by the then bishop of Paphos to accept a disciple, and thus to become the head of a coenobitic community on which the bishop bestowed certain endowments. Four years later, in A.D. 1170,

1) 'Ορνίθων ἀνάπαυλα.

2) Φιλήσυχος ἔρως.

3) See Plate II.



S. Neophytos was ordained priest, and from now on, others desirous of the ascetic life came to join him, and by the year A.D. 1183, the Enkleistra was completed together with part of its mural decorations. For his monastic community S. Neophytos composed a Ritual Ordinance in which he laid down the rules to be observed by the monks. Of this Ritual Ordinance there seems to have been three versions, the first written in A.D. 1167, the second, in A.D. 1189, and the third, in A.D. 1209 (1).

The year A.D. 1184 was a momentous date in the history of Cyprus, for it was in that year that Isaac Dukas Comnenos, a great nephew of the Emperor Manuel I, appeared in the Island with forged letters of appointment as a governor or Katapan of Cyprus. Having been accepted as Duke, Isaac soon showed himself a veritable despot and an oppressor of the inhabitants of the Island. A vain attempt was made by the Emperor Isaac II Angelos to buy off this rebel, and later, a fleet was sent against him, but it was defeated, and Isaac Comnenos was left in undisturbed possession of Cyprus till A.D. 1191.

With regard to the character of Isaac Dukas Comnenos, the general opinion is that he was a thoroughly bad man, an opinion which was also held by S. Neophytos, for in a very important letter of his, entitled «Concerning the misfortunes of Cyprus» (2), he states that Isaac ruled Cyprus for seven years, and not only utterly despoiled the land, and harassed the lives of its rich men, but every day he hounded and oppressed its nobles, so that all lived in distress, and sought by any means they might to protect themselves against him. In connection with Isaac Comnenos, Michael the Syrian supplies us in his Chronicle with a very interesting piece of information, for he states that Isaac compelled the Greek bishops to institute a patriarch in opposition to the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and that this patriarch crowned him emperor, and remained in office till the Island was captured by Richard I, King of England (3).

This was the second attempt to create a national patriarchate outside the four patriarchates of Apostolic foundation. The first attempt to create a national patriarchate independent of Constantinople occurred in A.D. 924. Symeon, the ruler of Bulgaria, had been at war with the Byzantine Empire, but failed to capture the Imperial City which, however, he actually besieged. On abandoning his military operations against the Empire, Symeon assumed an imperial title, Basileus or Tsar, and at the same time declared his Church independent of the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and raised his Archbishop to the rank of Patriarch. This independent Bulgarian Patriarchate lasted down to A.D. 1018, when the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, the Bulgar-slayer, conquered Bulgaria and annexed the territory to the Byzantine Empire. In the case of both Bulgaria and Cyprus, the setting up of a patriarchate independent of Constantinople was not due to any difference in theological opinions, but was made on purely political grounds. At the times in question it was an established custom for the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople to assist in the coronation service of a new emperor of the Byzantine Empire, and therefore, a ruler who

and in the year 1184, the year of the death of St. Neophytos, was seen to be a disciple and thus to become the head of a monastic community on which

(1) For the Greek text, cf. Kyprianos, Τυπική Διατάξις Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλειστοῦ, Venice, 1779, and for the English translation, cf. E.H. Freshfield and F.H. Warren, «The Ritual Ordinance of Neophytos» in *Archaeology* vol. XLVII, 1881.

(2) Cf. C.D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, Nicosia, 1895. pp. 10-13.

(3) Cf. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres, fasc. iii, p. 402: «Il se révolta contre l'empereur de Constantinople, rassembla les évêques grecs et leur ordonna d'instituer un patriarche qui sacra empereur ce Comnène, etc»



wished to assume an imperial title and to proclaim his independence of the Byzantine Empire, naturally strengthened his position considerably, if he were able to have himself crowned in the same way as the emperors at Constantinople. Since, of course, the participation of the Oecumenical Patriarch in such a coronation was out of the question, the only alternative was to create a national Patriarch who would perform the same service for the national ruler.

Such, then, was the state of Cyprus at the beginning of the Third Crusade. Now it must be borne in mind that at this time the only important places held by the Christians in the neighbourhood of Palestine were Tyre, Antioch and Tripolis. In consequence of this, Cyprus must have appeared to the Crusaders as a most valuable base for operations against Palestine, could they but get it into their possession. Isaac Dukas Comnenos was certainly aware of this, but as subsequent events showed, his defences were worthless, and his tyrannical rule lost him the support of his subjects.

On April 10th., A.D. 1191, Richard I, King of England, set sail with a fleet from Messina for Syria, and one of the ships carried his sister Joanna, Queen of Sicily, and his betrothed, Bergengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre. In a storm the ships became separated, and three of them found their way to Lemesos, where two of them were wrecked. Isaac who had had warning of the passage of the Crusaders, forbade the landing of the Franks, and those who escaped from the wrecks he took prisoner and ill-treated. This was a grave error not only from a humanitarian point of view, but also from a tactical one, as subsequent events showed. Realising, probably, that the Crusaders might attempt an invasion of Cyprus, Isaac hurriedly threw up defences on the beach, and at the same time tried to entice the two royal ladies ashore, whose ship had escaped from being wrecked. His intention seems to have been to hold them as hostages, but this they understood and refused to land, asking only to be allowed to take in water, but this Isaac refused to them. He then attempted to seize their vessel, but it promptly put out to sea, and at this moment Richard I arrived from Rhodes with the remainder of his fleet. This occurred on May 6th, A.D. 1191, a date as fatal for Cyprus as that of May 29th, A.D. 1453 was for Constantinople.

How hopelessly inadequate the military defence of Cyprus must have been at this time, and how unpopular the usurper, is clearly shewn by the fact that as soon as Isaac saw Richard's forces landing, he evacuated Lemesos and retired with his soldiers to Kilani in the hills. Richard I was naturally welcomed by the Latin merchants of Lemesos, and three days later, Isaac came down to a conference with Richard at which he agreed to send a body of 200 men with the Crusaders, and to allow provisions to be purchased in the Island without payment of dues, and to leave his daughter in the king's hands as hostage, but he stated that he himself could not join in the Crusade in person, as, if he were to leave Cyprus, the Emperor of Constantinople would dispute his right to the Island. This, of course, would have been the case, had the Emperor been in a position to do at the time; but what is far more likely is that Isaac feared the loyalty of his own subjects far more than anything that Constantinople might be able to do. In any case, Isaac almost immediately repented of his terms for he returned secretly at night to Kolossi from where he sent a letter to Richard ordering him to leave the Island without delay. Thereupon Richard at once attacked Isaac's camp and captured it with a considerable amount of booty, though Isaac himself escaped. A second engagement took place, so it is said at Tremithoussia where Isaac was again defeated. He himself escaped and fled, so it seems, first to the Castle of Kantara (1), but from there he retired to the Castle of Buffavento where he eventually surrendered. The booty seized by Richard

1) See Plate III



was enormous, and the people are said to have yielded up half of their possessions in return for which Richard confirmed to them by charter the laws and institutions which had been granted to them by the Emperor Manuel Comnenos. Frankish garrisons replaced, however, the Greek ones throughout the Island.

On June 5th. A.D. 1191, Richard sailed away from Cyprus for Syria with his army, leaving a governor to manage the affairs of the Island. According to the author of the *Gesta Regis Henrici II, etc.*, the Greeks and the Armenians who had not accepted the peace, immediately on Richard's departure set up for themselves a new emperor in the person of a monk who was a kinsman of Isaac. Thereupon, the representative of Richard assembled an army and joined battle with the new emperor whom he defeated, took prisoner and hanged.

In the same year Richard sold the Island for 200,000 pounds of gold to the Knights Templar. These, however, unable to hold the Island begged Richard the next year to take it back on the same terms as he had sold it; Richard, however, was not prepared to restore the money which he had received, and persuaded Guy de Lusignan to acquire the Island. It thus came about that Cyprus passed into the hands of the Franks, and remained under the rule of the Lusignan Dynasty from A.D. 1192 to 1487.

Four years later, that is to say, in A.D. 1196 S. Neophytos wrote a brief account of the happenings in Cyprus under Isaac Dukas Comnenos in a letter which he entitled « Concerning the misfortunes of Cyprus » (1) to which we have already referred. In his condemnation of Isaac Dukas Comnenos and Richard I, S. Neophytos is most definitely impartial, for he describes the former as « a despoiler of the island and an oppressor of its nobles », and the latter, as « a wicked (2) wretch. » His judgment of the Crusaders in general was that they were wolves which, indeed, they proved themselves to be, eight years later, when they sacked and pillaged Constantinople during three days.

On account of the fame of his sanctity, crowds of visitors began to visit S. Neophytos, and as his peace was thus disturbed, the saint decided in A.D. 1191 to retire to a more inaccessible retreat, and to this end he hewed out of the rock above the Enkleistra a new cell to which access could be had only by means of a ladder. It was during this work, on January 24th, that S. Neophytos narrowly escaped death from a piece of falling rock. This event is yearly commemorated at the Monastery in a special service. From this new retreat the saint descended only on Sundays to instruct his disciples.

The exact date of the death of S. Neophytos is not known, but it probably occurred after A.D. 1214 in which year he would have been eighty years old. The day, however, is known, namely, April 12th., but as this date usually falls in Lent, the commemoration of the death of the saint has been transferred to January 24th. In accordance with his instructions, S. Neophytos was buried in the tomb which he himself had hewn out of the rock in the cave of the Enkleistra. During the Frankish period (A.D. 1192 - 1571), the position of the tomb was certainly known, since the Chronicler Leontios Makhairas (middle of 14th. century to the first decade of the 15th. century) speaks of it in his work, where he says : « his (Neophytos') tomb is there and is a source of miracles » (3), and likewise, Staffano Lusignano (16th.

1) Cf. page 4.

2) Ἀλιτήριος,

3) Cf. R.M. Dawkins, *Leontios Makhairas, Chronicle, vol. I, p. 39, Oxford, 1932*, καὶ εἶνε ὁ τάφος του ἐκεῖ καὶ βρῦει θαύματα.



century) when speaking of the Enkleistra, says: «where his (Neophytos') body may be seen quite intact, and works great miracles» (1)

On the Turkish occupation of Cyprus the tomb was sealed up and a fresco painted over the opening, the better to conceal it. Thus it remained until A.D. 1750, when it was accidentally discovered in the following circumstances. A monk of the Monastery, under the impression that there was a hidden treasure in the recesses of the cave of the Enkleistra, went one night to attempt to find it and managed to break into the tomb of the saint. When, however, he tried to raise the covering of the tomb, he was mysteriously struck down insensible. On coming to his senses, the monk went at once to the hegoumenos of the Monastery and confessed what he had done. When morning came, the hegoumenos and all the monks went in a body to the Enkleistra, where they found the tomb open, and inside it a wooden box. When the lid of this had been raised, there was revealed the body of S. Neophytos in a perfect state of preservation and girt with the chains which he had worn during his lifetime. The relics were then removed to the monastic church where they were deposited in a shrine (2) which now stands at the east end of the left aisle. The head of the saint, however, was placed in a silver reliquary which stands on a desk in front of the eiconostasis.

In A.D. 1631, the hegoumenos of the Monastery made a successful attempt to free the Monastery from the interference by the bishops of Paphos in whose diocese it is situated. He succeeded in obtaining a sigillum issued by Cyril Loukaris the then Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and by his Synod and counter-signed by the then archbishop of Cyprus, whereby the Monastery became an independent and self-governing monastic institution, in other words, an imperial and stauropegiac monastery, with no other obligation than to pray daily for the archbishops of Cyprus.

Though the literary works of S. Neophytos are, as is to be expected, mainly theological, we have, however, from his pen the important letter on contemporary event in Cyprus to which we have already referred, as well as a treatise on earthquakes (3) and a Ritual Ordinance. The former work was most probably inspired by a very disastrous earthquake which occurred while S. Neophytos was hewing out the Enkleistra. The saint's opinion as to the cause of earthquakes is quaint and worth mentioning. It is that, when men sin, God looks down on the earth sternly, and creation, unable to bear the awful and wrathful gaze of the Creator, trembles and shakes. As regards the Ritual Ordinance, (4) or Rule, which S. Neophytos composed for his Monastery, it is interesting to note that in it the saint lays down that the number of monks at the Monastery shall not exceed eighteen, since experience had taught him that it was difficult to maintain discipline and to ensure quietness with a larger number. He moreover excluded from the precincts of his Monastery women and female animals (5). In this, however, S. Neophytos was merely reaffirming the rule laid down by the monastic reformer S. Plato of the early ninth century who was hegoumenos of the Saccoudion on Mt. Olympus. S. Plato in his turn was merely reinstating an ancient practice. It would appear that the exclusion of female animals from monasteries was not or-

1) Cf. Steffano Lusignano, *Chronografia*, p. 25b, *doue egli è seppellito e vi si vede il corpo tutto intiero, e fa gran miracoli.*

2) See Plate IV.

3) Cf. Delehaye, «*Oratio de terrae motibus*» in *Anal. Bolland.* vol. XXVI, 1907, pp. 207-12.

4) Cf. note (I) page 4.

5) This rule is no longer observed, and ladies may stay at the Monastery as guests.



ained primarily on grounds of safeguarding the morality of the monks, but rather from a desire to protect them from the temptation to increase their revenues by trading. There had been examples in more than one monastery of cattle breeding which had naturally necessitated the housing of lay servants within the walls of the monastery. As the number of cattle often exceeded the requirements of the monastery, cattle dealers had been attracted to the monastery with a view to purchasing the superfluous stock, and as a result the monks had been tempted to take too much interest in worldly affairs.

MSS. of the works of S. Neophytos are found in a number of libraries in Europe; in Greece, at Athen and in certain monasteries; in France, at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in Spain, at Madrid, and in Scotland, at Edinburgh.

The Enkleistra consists of two caves. The first is in the form of a chapel with nave, sanctuary and altar, and the second which measures eleven feet by eight, formed the dwelling-place of the saint, in which may be seen a rock-hewn table and seat at which he worked. In a recess of this second cave is the empty rock-hewn tomb of the saint. To the right of these two caves there is a third which is reached by a narrow path, but unfortunately its frescoes are damaged and blackened by the smoke of fires which at some period were lit in it.

The frescoes of the first and second caves are in a good state of preservation, and are excellent examples of Byzantine art of the period. They are of various dates, the earliest which portrays S. Neophytos is dated A.D. 1183 and was executed by the painter Theodoros Apsoudēs whom the saint employed to decorate the Enkleistra. If we except the ninth century fresco in the chapel of S. Solomonē at Paphos, and the frescoes of the Church of the Virgin at Asinou which, on the evidence of an inscription, are assigned to A.D. 1106, certain of the mural paintings of the Enkleistra are the earliest specimens of Byzantine frescoes in Cyprus (1). Besides Biblical scenes, these frescoes portray also all the more important anchorites and monastic fathers, including a number from Egypt, for example, SS. Antony, Macarius, Amoun of Nitria, Pachomius, Daniel of Scete, Paisis, etc.

About a hundred yards from the foot of the cliff in which the Enkleistra is hewn out, there are the buildings of the present Monastery. These are in the shape of a quadrangle, one side of which is formed by the monastic church. A covered gallery runs round the inside of the upper storey of the monastic buildings (2), which contain a reception room and library, a refectory, guest chambers and some of the monks' cells. From this gallery a most beautiful view can be obtained of the surroundings, wooded hillsides which slope gently down to the blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea. The position of the Monastery from the point of view of climate, is ideal, for it is sheltered from the cold winds of winter by the surrounding hills, and its height, circa 1000 feet above the sea-level, insures to it a cool and exhilarating temperature during the heat of summer.

The monastic church (3) is a large, well-built edifice which dates most probably from the first half of the fifteenth century, and seems to have been erected at the command of Helena Palaeologia, Queen of Cyprus (A.D. 1442-1458). It is in the form of basilica with a single dome and three aisles. The vaulted roof is supported by columns, three on each side of the nave. These columns are crowned with capitals decorated with curious, thin acanthus lea-

1) For these mural paintings, cf. G.A. Sotiriou, *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, I, Athens, 1935.

2) See Plate V.

3) See Plate VI and VII.

4) See Plate VIII.



ves. The walls of the church show remains of frescoes which may be assigned to two periods. Those in the apse which depict the principal Church Fathers (1), appear to date from the sixteenth century, whilst those on the vaulting of the north aisle are earlier.

The Library of the Monastery possesses five folios of a manuscript of a work by S. Neophytos, and also an interesting and rare example of a wooden Antimension (2) which bears the date A.D. 1686 (3).

The Monastery has property in a number of villages in Cyprus, as well as a Dependency (Metokhion) at the village of Akhelia. The cultivation of carobs constitutes an important source of revenue for the Monastery. There are at present twelve monks including the hegoumenos at the Monastery.

*Plate I*



*Monastery of S. Neophytos*

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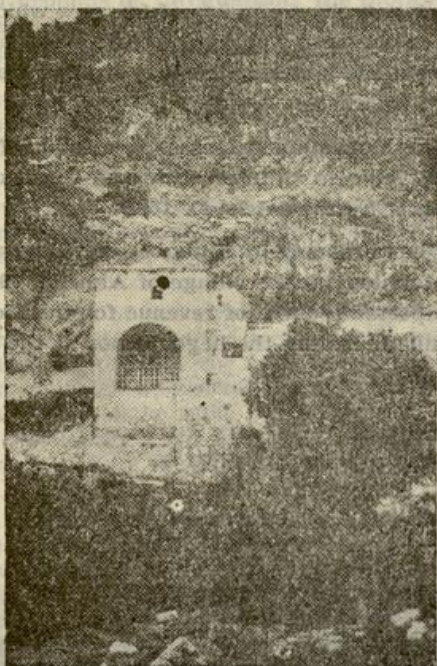
1) See Plate VIII.

2) See Plate IX.

3) For particulars of this wooden Antimension, cf. O.H.E. Burmester, «The Monastery of S. Neophytos, Paphos, Cyprus» in *Eastern Churches Quarterly* vol. VII, p. 18.



Plate II



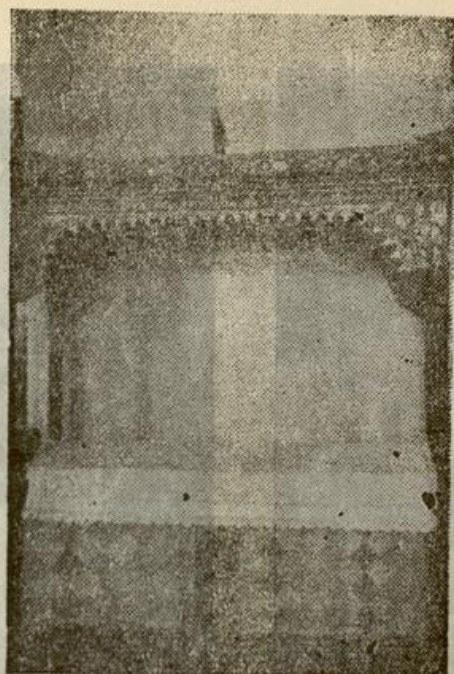
The Enkleistra

Plate III

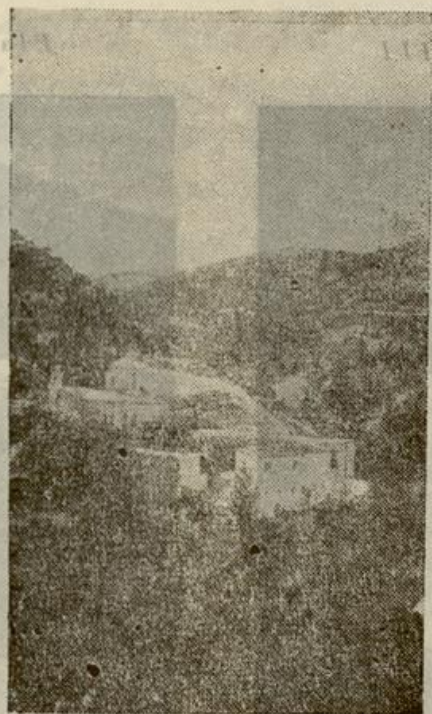


The Castle of Kantara





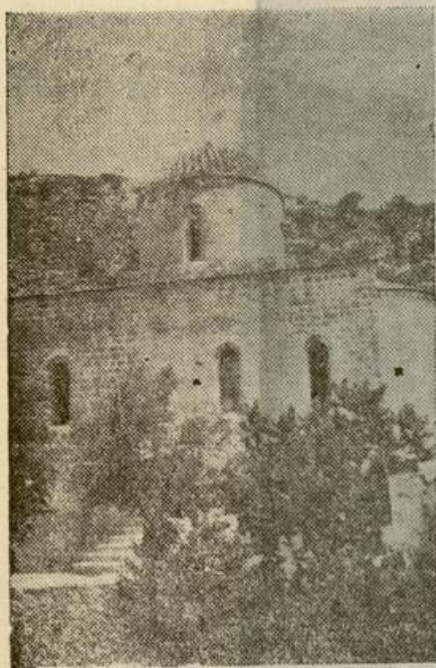
Shrine of S. Neophytos



Quadrangle of Monastery

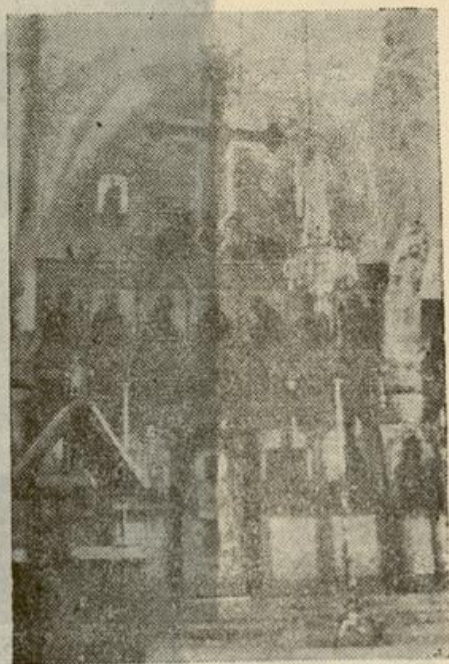


Plate VI



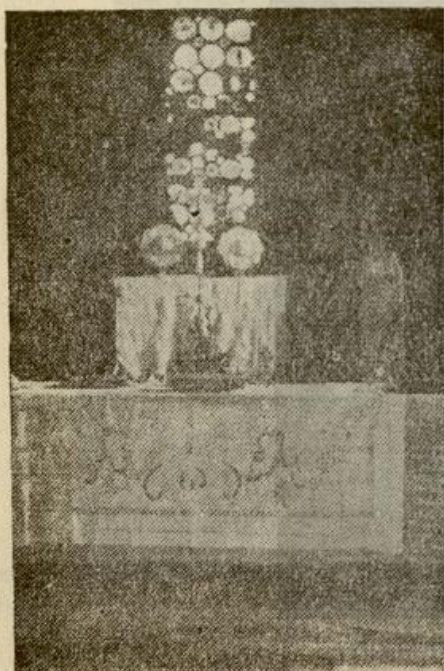
Byzantine Monastic Church

Plate VII



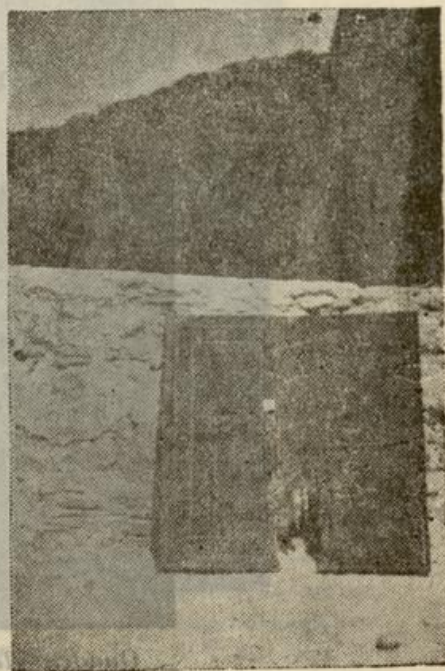
The Eiconostasis

Plate VIII



Mural Paintings in the Apse

Plate IX



Wooden Antimension